FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-091
Friday
12 May 1989

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CONTENTS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

CSSR Delegation Head Addresses Geneva Talks *[CTK]* 1
Envoys to Vienna Arms Talks Interviewed *[Sofia Radio]* 1

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Budapest Meeting on Europe To Open 11 May *[MTI]* 2
Polish UN Envoy Supports Disarmament Efforts *[PAP]* 2
CSSR Envoy Addresses London Information Forum *[Prague Radio]* 2

ALBANIA

Foto Cami Continues Official Visit to FRG 3
Meets With Genscher *[ATA]* 3
Meets Parliamentary Officials *[ATA]* 3
Tensions Between U.S., Europe Examined *[Murati in ZERI I POPULLIT 6 May]* 3

BULGARIA

Central Committee Report to Agriculture Plenum *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 5 May]* 6

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Soviet Defense Minister Yazov Continues Visit 26
Discusses Cooperation With Husak *[Prague Radio]* 26
Holds Talks With Jakes *[Prague Radio]* 26
Hanus Addresses Soviet Soldiers on Victory Day *[RUDE PRAVO 10 May]* 26
Commentary Assesses Results of PZPR Conference *[Drabek in Bratislava SMENA 10 May]* 26
Academy of Sciences Criticizes Nuclear Energy *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 9 May]* 27

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Honecker Says Elections Demonstrate Unity *[ADN]* 28
Provisional Election Results Published 8 May *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 8 May]* 28
Election Commission Terms Results 'Impressive' *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 10 May]* 29
Politburo Statement on Honecker-Jakes Meeting *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 10 May]* 30
Honecker Greets Swedish Communist Workers Party *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 6-7 May]* 31
Honecker Greets Swedish Party Head on Reelection *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 10 May]* 31
People's Chamber Session To Convene 8 Jun *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 10 May]* 31
NATO Missile Modernization Plans Criticized *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 9 May]* 31

HUNGARY

National Assembly Debates, Session Continue 32
Nemeth Holds News Conference *[Budapest Radio]* 32
Session Resumes 11 May *[MTI]* 33
Law on Youth Debated *[MTI]* 33
Session Resumes 12 May *[MTI]* 33
Medgyessy Discusses Government Economic Program *[NEPSZABADSAG 6 May]* 33
Serial Interview With Janos Kadar Begins *[MTI]* 36
Budapest 'Reform Circle' Urges Personnel Changes *[Budapest Radio]* 37
Demonstration Protests Russian Language Courses *[MTI]* 37
Liberal International Delegation Begins Visit 37
'No Return' to Former Model *[MTI]* 37
Pozsgay Receives Delegation *[MTI]* 38

Reception Marks Israeli National Day *[MTI]* 37
Netherlands Trade Minister Discusses Ties *[MTI]* 38
Straub Honors Italian Anti-Fascist Fighter *[MTI]* 38
Foreign Trade in 1st Quarter Detailed *[MTI]* 39

POLAND

Walesa Comments on Slupsk 'Bugging', Election *[Warsaw Radio]* 40
* Solidarity Committee Issues Electoral Program *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 29 Apr-1 May]* 40
Walesa Meets With Italian President Cossiga *[Rome ANSA]* 44
Jaruzelski on Youth Participation in PZPR *[PAP]* 44
Rakowski Chairs Council of Ministers Session *[PAP]* 45
USSR's Grishin Visits Polish Soldiers in Silesia *[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI 26 Apr]* 45
Spokesman Rykowski Holds 9 May News Conference *[PAP]* 45
Electoral Commission Discusses Sejm, Senate *[PAP]* 47
PZPR Conference of Delegates Held 4 May 47
UPP Chairman Speaks *[PAP]* 47
DP Chairman Speaks *[PAP]* 47
PZPR Spokesman's Remarks Reported *[PAP]* 48
New Party Committee First Secretary Elected *[TRYBUNA LUDU 30 Mar]* 48

ROMANIA

SCINTEIA Views Recent Disarmament Meetings *[AGERPRES]* 49
Wreath-Laying Ceremonies Mark Victory Day 49
Ceremonies Held in Romania *[AGERPRES]* 49
Ceremonies in Hungary *[AGERPRES]* 50
Ceremonies in Bulgaria *[AGERPRES]* 50
CSSR National Day Commemorative Ceremonies Held *[ROMANIA LIBERA 8 May]* 51
Iranian Bank Governer Majid Qasemi Visits 51
Andrei, Urdea Meet Qasemi *[AGERPRES]* 51
Dascalescu Receives Qasemi *[AGERPRES]* 51
Cyprus EDEK Leader Lyssaridhis Greets Ceausescu *[SCINTEIA 9 May]* 51

YUGOSLAVIA

Milosevic Addresses Serbian Presidency Session *[POLITIKA 9 May]* 52
Milosevic's Economic Reform Policy Outlined *[TANJUG]* 53
Defense Secretary Kadijevic on Security Pay *[TANJUG]* 54
Official Eases Kosovo Extraordinary Measures *[TANJUG]* 54
Position of Serbian Minorities Abroad Examined *[Sverko in BORBA 6-7 May]* 54
Ljubljana SAWP Discusses 8 May Meeting *[TANJUG]* 56
Ljubljana University Students Stage Protest 56
Students Protest Jansa Arrest *[TANJUG]* 56
Maribor Gathering To Last 1 Hour *[Ljubljana Radio]* 57
Celje Gathering Held To Support Slovene Spring *[Ljubljana Radio]* 57
Maribor Residents Protest Economy, Trial *[TANJUG]* 58
Slovene Writers Appeal Against Repression *[BORBA 29-30 Apr, 1-2 May]* 58
Slovene Christian Social Movement Founded *[Vienna Radio]* 59
Commentary Scrutinizes Orlandic Appointment *[Konatar in POBJEDA 3 May]* 59
Sarajevo Court Lifts Ban on Student Newspaper *[TANJUG]* 60
Failure To Elect Presidency Candidate Viewed *[TANJUG]* 60
Exports Fall, Imports Rise in First Quarter *[TANJUG]* 61
Construction Firms Attract Foreign Contracts *[TANJUG]* 61

CSSR Delegation Head Addresses Geneva Talks

LD2704164189 Prague CTK in English
1404 GMT 27 Apr 89

["Spring Session of Conference on Disarmament Ends"—CTK headline]

[Text] Geneva April 27 (CTK)—Head of a Czechoslovak delegation to the spring session of the conference on disarmament Vratislav Vajnar appreciated here today, reviewing the results achieved in the past three months, an ever increasing support for the Czechoslovak draft mandate which should direct the work of a committee for a nuclear test ban.

Vratislav Vajnar called on participants to promote talks on averting the arms race in outer space, and appreciated the efforts in preparing a convention on a ban and liquidation of chemical weapons. He stressed Czechoslovakia's readiness to take part in an international experiment of control of the chemical industry, and at the same time stated that no progress was made at the session in many key problems of the prepared convention on a total ban and liquidation of chemical weapons.

Envoys to Vienna Arms Talks Interviewed

AU1205093189

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service (Khristo Botev station) in Bulgarian from 0600 to 0800 GMT on 12 May devotes its daily "Good Day" program to the subject "Small States in Big Politics." The program is simultaneously broadcast from studios in Vienna and Sofia and largely deals with Bulgarian-Austrian relations and the role of small states in international relations. Reception is extremely poor and the program is partially unmonitorable.

A 20-minute segment of the program is devoted to the progress at the Vienna disarmament talks and contains 3-minute reports on a recorded 3-minute interview with "General V.M. Tatarnikov, leader of the USSR delegation to the Vienna talks, and Ambassador Stephen Ledogar, leader of the U.S. delegation to the talks," and a 3-minute live interview in the Vienna studio with Ambassador Lyuben Petrov, leader of the Bulgarian delegation to the talks.

At 0657 GMT a recorded interview with Gen V. Tatarnikov on progress at the Vienna talks is carried. The general speaks in Russian but after a few words the recording fades into a summary of the interview, read in Bulgarian by the announcer. According to the report, Tatarnikov outlines the differences between the positions of the Warsaw Pact and NATO at the disarmament talks and describes the Vienna talks as "unprecedented and completely different from past talks on disarmament in central Europe." "Despite the initial differences, the representatives of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact make no secret of their intention to attain success at the talks." The Soviet general later stresses the differences on one of the initial issues: "the contents of the initial agreement. As you know, the NATO member states propose to start disarming in three classes of weapons: tanks, artillery, and armored personnel carriers—and everyone knows that the Warsaw Pact has an advantage in these kinds of weapons." The announcer says that the Soviet general also discussed the "nature of offensive strike weapons" and other issues discussed at the talks.

At 0659 GMT the reporter in the Vienna studio announces an interview with Ambassador Stephen Ledogar, "leader of the U.S. delegation to the Vienna talks." After a few words in English the voice of the ambassador fades into a summarized 2-minute report in Bulgarian on the interview, read by the announcer. At this point reception is virtually unmonitorable. The announcer says that the U.S. diplomat stressed the importance of beginning disarmament in the areas of tanks, artillery, and armored personnel carriers. "Afterwards the leader of the U.S. delegation expressed satisfaction with the new Soviet proposal, described it as encouraging, and said that the West expects specific steps leading to cuts in (?military) zones." The talks that have been held so far "give grounds to expect positive developments," with the correct way, according to him, being "step by step, without any haste." Ambassador Ledogar is said to have pointed out the "importance of the talks in the working groups" and to have described the atmosphere at the talks as "businesslike, with all conditions for positive developments being present. This is a very encouraging fact."

At 0702 GMT a live interview with Ambassador Lyuben Petrov, "head of the Bulgarian delegation to the Vienna meeting," in the Vienna studio, begins. He discusses the progress at the talks and points out that "it is necessary to reach at least some agreements by the end of the year" and thereby establish a basis for achieving further agreement. He positively assesses Austria's contribution to the all-European process. The reporter in the Sofia studio says that "many listeners have questions for the ambassador." Petrov briefly answers a question on the importance of disarmament, after which he says that "his time is short, because he must take part in a meeting today." He then leaves the studio at 0705 GMT.

Budapest Meeting on Europe To Open 11 May
AU0905172789 Budapest MTI in English
1708 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 9 (MTI)—A three-day international roundtable conference is to open in Budapest on Thursday [11 May], under the title 'Europe and European Cooperation on the Threshold of the 1990s'.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has invited 26 parties from 15 countries to take part in the event, where their representatives can hold informal discussions about the future of the continent, and the possibilities of creating a new-look Europe can be outlined.

The conference is also expected to set up a forum with the aim that the parties of Europe regularly exchange views, without any acceptance of obligations, on the most important issues of the future of the continent. The events will be open to all parties interested.

The roundtable will close with a press conference on Saturday, at which participants are to summarize what they have gained.

Polish UN Envoy Supports Disarmament Efforts
LD1105124489 Warsaw PAP in English
1157 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] New York, May 11—Poland has expressed support for disarmament efforts and the U.N.'s activities in this field.

During a plenary debate of the U.N. Disarmament Commission, Poland's permanent representative to the U.N., Ambassador Eugeniusz Noworyta stressed the extremely great significance of Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in New York for the creation of a more peaceful and secure world.

In Poland's opinion, the Soviet-American agreement on eliminating medium and shorter-range nuclear missiles is the first step in the direction of eliminating nuclear weapons.

Poland is convinced that the disarmament process will be boosted this year on such key issues as a 50-percent reduction of Soviet and American potentials of strategic offensive weapons while strengthening the ABM Treaty and arriving at a convention on a chemical weapons ban. At the same time one should raise the issue of battlefield nuclear weapons. Specific proposals on this important matter are contained in the declaration of states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty.

Referring to the policy of "openness" regarding data on the manpower of the Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty, the Polish ambassador recalled that Poland intends to cut its Armed Forces by 40 thousand soldiers, 850 tanks, 900 artillery guns, 7 thousand armoured vehicles, 80 combat planes and other technical equipment by 1991. Poland stressed the significance of a ban on nuclear weapons testing.

CSSR Envoy Addresses London Information Forum
LD1205083189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1500 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] The information forum in London, the first of 11 follow-up events to the Vienna CSCE meeting, will tomorrow conclude its month-long session. Today Ambassador Dusan Spacil, head of the Czechoslovak delegation, gave a concluding statement. Here is our London correspondent, Zdenek Vilimek:

[Vilimek] In his concluding speech, Comrade Dusan Spacil emphasized that the Czechoslovak delegation was satisfied in principle with the proceedings of the information forum. The almost 70 proposals put forward at the forum represent a broad range of ideas which will now be considered by the participating countries' governments and assessed for their acceptability.

By no means are all the proposals made equally valuable, Dusan Spacil added. Many of them are positive but some are simply not realistic. The forum was permeated by an honest intention to exchange experience and find ways of making better progress in the whole broad sphere of sharing information in Europe, both in the West and East. Cooperation and mutual understanding, guided by the principles of new thinking, were the objectives pursued in most of the speeches and contributions, emphasized Dusan Spacil. However, by no means did everything satisfy us.

The forum also addressed the possibilities for preparing the conditions for the free flow of information, but what was not discussed adequately was the other side of the coin: how to prevent the free flow of false and untrue information. In this context, Dusan Spacil pointed out that information on developments in the socialist countries and specifically about the progress of restructuring in Czechoslovakia was often distorted by the press of some of the participating states. He went on to emphasize that the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] and the Czechoslovak Government had supported new thinking, restructuring, and public information right from the start, and that the need for public information had already altered the face of our press.

Foto Cami Continues Official Visit to FRG

Meets With Genscher

AU1105153589 Tirana ATA in English
0940 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Tirana, May 11 (ATA)—The federal minister of foreign affairs and vice-chancellor of FR [Federal Republic] of Germany, Dr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, received on May 10 afternoon at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bonn, the chairman of the Permanent Foreign Affairs Commission of the People's Assembly of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Comrade Foto Cami, who continues his official and friendly visit to the FR of Germany. The foreign minister of FRG, Genscher, expressed his satisfaction on the meeting with Comrade Foto Cami and stressed that since establishment of the diplomatic relations steps forward have been made for the strengthening of the relations between Albania and the FRG. He evaluated the correct and stable policy of Albania in its relations with the neighbors. Your visit, Genscher said further on, will give a fresh impulse to the relations of cooperation among the two countries.

The foreign minister and vice-chancellor of FRG Hans-Dietrich Genscher, asked Comrade Foto Cami to convey to the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia the best greetings and wishes.

Comrade Foto Cami expressed satisfaction over the meeting and evaluated the positive development of the relations between the two countries, pointing out also the possibilities existing for their expansion. Comrade Foto Cami spoke on the policy of good-neighborliness followed by Albania in the Balkan peninsula and its efforts to strengthen the spirit of cooperation and understanding in the region and Europe. He conveyed to the foreign minister and vice-chancellor of FRG, Hans-Dietrich Genscher greetings from the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, as well as the best wishes for the people of FR of Germany.

The meeting was attended by top officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of FRG. Present were also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of PSR of Albania in Bonn, Shpetim Caushi, and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of FRG in Tirana, Friedrich Kroneck.

Meets Parliamentary Officials

AU1105153789 Tirana ATA in English
0953 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Tirana, May 11 (ATA)—On May 10, afternoon the chairman of the Permanent Foreign Affairs Commission of the People's Assembly of the PSRA [People's Socialist Republic of Albania], Comrade Foto Cami, had a meeting at the seat of the Parliament of the FRG [Federal Republic of Germany] with the Foreign Affairs Commission of this Parliament. Attending were the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Parliament of the FRG, Dr Hans Stercken, members of the Foreign Commission from various parties represented in the Parliament, etc.

During the meeting they talked on the relations between the PSRA and the FRG and the ways for their further expansion. Opinions were exchanged also on different questions of the situation in the Balkans and in Europe. The members of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Parliament of the FRG evaluated the independent policy of Albania on the international arena and its course of good neighborliness, of cooperation and understanding in the Balkans. They expressed also the worry about some latest negative development in the Balkans and underscored the need of stability in the region. They evaluated the positive relations between the parliaments of the FRG and the PSRA and expressed the desire for the continuation of these relations. At the end, the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Parliament of the FRG, Dr Hans Stercken, thanked Comrade Foto Cami for the explanation on the foreign policy of Albania and described his visit to the FRG as a further contribution to the consolidation of the relations between the parliaments and the peoples of our two countries. Present in the meeting was also the ambassador of the PSRA in Bonn, Shpetim Caushi.

Tensions Between U.S., Europe Examined

AU1105183789 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 6 May 89 p 4

[Shaban Murati article: "Detente and American Accusations of 'Neutralist Tendencies' in Europe"]

[Text] Recently, a new problem has been added to the many difficulties that already encumber relations between the United States and Western European countries. This lies in the different interpretations given by the respective sides to the reduced tensions and the agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union, and the contradictory political plans and objectives that arise from this difference in interpretation.

For the West European countries, the reduction in tension and the various agreements between the superpowers in general, such as that concerning Euromissiles and some others that are now being discussed, should bring in their train a reduction in the NATO arsenal and the presence of foreign troops and weaponry in Europe. In an interview given to the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG on 1 May, West German Foreign Minister Genscher said that "Disarmament must not exclude any kind of weapon." The FRG has repeated its well-known view that NATO and the Warsaw Pact must discuss the reduction or total elimination of short-range missiles. Italy, Denmark, Norway, Greece, Spain, and Belgium support this stand. With such a stand, the countries of Western Europe are protecting their own interests. This annoys the United States, which has insisted on the modernization of

the short-range missiles as soon as possible, and, as REUTER reported on 1 May, "has issued a warning to Bonn." At a news conference in Washington on 4 May, United States President Bush stated that the United States would not budge from its position on the modernization of short-range missiles, and emphasized that "I will work together with the Germans and others in order to achieve a common position." From the West European point of view, a reduction of tension in the relations between the superpowers and on the European political scene cannot be genuine unless it is accompanied by an alleviation of the heavy military burden borne by both sides of Europe. The head of the CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union/ Christian Social Union] Parliamentary Group, Dregger, stated at a meeting of the Atlantic Alliance in Munich in January that "Any modernization of short-range nuclear missiles is a mistake from the strategic point of view, and unacceptable to us Germans. I am opposed to any strategy that gives no chance of survival for us Germans should a conflict arise. Germans should wish for a nuclear arsenal at a minimum level, as regards both quantity and strength, and not a single weapon more."

Bush's government refuses to accept the connection the allies make between lower tensions and arms reduction, and has produced a demand that, quite apart from the reduction in tension, NATO forces and the United States military presence on the European Continent should be maintained and strengthened. The United States' thesis, which is in flagrant contradiction to U.S. pretentions regarding reduced tensions and arms cuts in Europe, has failed to convince many allied capitals, which have frankly expressed their opposition to the United States' plans to modernize nuclear missiles and their dissatisfaction at the pressure exerted by Bush's Cabinet. Since they are unable to explain how reduced tensions can be reconciled with armaments, the Americans have levelled a serious accusation against the countries of Western Europe, which is being spread by their politicians and propaganda and through various fanatical Atlanticist groups. This accusation concerns Europe's "neutralist tendencies," which, according to the Americans' alarm bell, are jeopardizing the unity of the Atlantic alliance. At a meeting of the Atlantic alliance, Senator John Glenn, a high-level Pentagon representative, criticized the allies, especially the FRG, for "neutralist tendencies."

The United States' accusations of "neutralist tendencies" among the West European countries do not only express concern at the drift of these countries toward a form of "neutrality," but concern at any weakening of the allies' dependency on the policies and interests of the United States. By "neutralist tendencies," the Americans understand the allies' efforts to free themselves from the U.S. military burden and to independently decide their important issues of national defense and security. In the American concept of relations with the allies, the existence of Western countries and their sovereignty is tied to the military presence and control of the United States. In a recent article in the newspaper SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, Richard Burt, United States ambassador to the FRG, criticized some political circles in the FRG, who state that "Western Europe can do without the American nuclear weapons deployed in Europe," and also criticized "some Europeans, and especially the French, who have drawn the conclusion that the treaty on Euromissiles is the first step toward the inevitable disappearance of U.S. power from Europe." Without the slightest diplomatic courtesy, he reminded the allies of "the leading role of the United States," and repeated that all the American troops and 90 percent of the nuclear weapons deployed in Europe will remain.

Accusations of "neutralist tendencies" voice a fear that the leading role of the United States in the Atlantic community may be eroded, and are a simultaneous attempt to scare the allies. The U.S. position is in flagrant contradiction to their many pretentions regarding detente in Europe and the world at large. From this, various conclusions emerge regarding the way in which the United States views relations with the allies and the reduction of tensions in modern international relations.

The countries of Western Europe have sufficient experience of statecraft, policy, and history to know better than the United States how to preserve their own sovereignty and national security. There is a general conviction arising in Europe that, 44 years after the end of World War II and following the changes that have taken place in the continent and the world, the maintenance of American and Soviet troops in European countries has become more than an anachronism. The wish and demand of the peoples of Europe of both West and East is for their continent to be cleansed of nuclear missiles and of the troops and bases of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. The present United States leadership uses every means to fly in the face of this reality, which cannot be reconciled with the hegemony of the United States. It is within this context that a flood of U.S. accusations about Europe's "neutralist tendencies" has been unleashed. America likes an economically and politically strong Western Europe to the extent that it can be used as a form of pressure against the Soviet Union, but has no desire for it to emerge with its own independent role. A recent article in CORRIERE DELLA SERA states that "The United States, worried by the creation of a 'fortress Europe,' is seeking to reimpose its rights as a superpower on the community. The United States, although it is calling for a larger European contribution (to NATO), is not willing to grant Europe the political autonomy that should follow from its economic strength. Every European initiative that does not correspond to American interests is hindered or blocked by Washington."

The U.S. interpretation of reduced tension also sheds light on the nature of the thinking behind U.S. policy on a larger scale. The United States conceives the process of reducing tensions merely in terms of Soviet-American relations. As far as other countries and regions are concerned, this reduction of tension must assist the presence of the United States and its hegemonistic role.

When the White House demands such a thing so unceremoniously from the NATO allies, its intentions in other countries and regions are clear. It is clear how much value can be attached to a reduction in tension that maintains and strengthens a military presence and modernizes nuclear weapons in Europe and other continents.

As time passes, Western Europe is increasingly feeling the weight of these rusty Atlantic shackles when it comes to making national political and military decisions. The normal and realistic development of international relations is increasingly highlighting the importance of measures that correspond to sovereign interests and the interests of a genuine reduction of tension and of genuine disarmament. It is becoming clear in various political and public circles in Europe that it is impossible to reconcile reduced tensions with th3 continuing process of armament. The fact that many West European capitals are looking the United States straight in the eye and saying this shows they have a sense of responsibility and realism.

Central Committee Report to Agriculture Plenum

AU1005060189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 May 89 pp 1-4

[Report of the BCP Central Committee Politburo: "On Agricultural Policy Under Conditions of Restructuring" submitted to the BCP Central Committee Plenum on Agriculture, held on 4 and 5 May at the Boyana Residence in Sofia]

[Text] Comrades, as you know, in September 1988 the Politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee [CC] discussed and adopted a memorandum: "On the Further Practical Implementation of the July Concept in Restructuring Agriculture".

—In connection with the publication of this memorandum the problems of agriculture were discussed over several months.
—The discussion, which was conducted on a large scale and which actually turned into a **kind of referendum,** made it possible to accumulate a large amount of materials containing **ideas and proposals** on restructuring agriculture and ensuring the further prosperity of the Bulgarian village.

Over this period we once more analyzed the experience of the majority of **socialist states** and of the **advanced-**Western countries.
—The postulates and decisions of the **CPSU Central Committee Plenum** on the party's agricultural policy under today's conditions are of particular importance for us.

For all these reasons we can say that we are well **prepared** to hold a BCP Central Committee plenum and to embark on the **practical solution** of the current, urgent problems on a large scale.

I. [chapterhead] On the Restructuring Process in Our Country and Agricultural Problems

The attention we devote to agriculture is understandable, given its tremendous and unique contribution to:

—The improvement of the people's living standard;
—Industrial development;
—Our participation in the international division of labor.

This is why the care devoted to agriculture should by all means be one of the **priority targets** in our socioeconomic policy. In the final account, the fundamental reform in this sector is one of the decisive factors for the implementation of a new model of socialism in our country.

This was **one of the considerations** which prompted us to deal with the questions of agriculture **on a priority basis** as early as at the initial stage of restructuring.

The other consideration was based on the fact that a peculiar situation recently emerged in the agricultural sphere. It is characterized by the existing urgent and crucial problems, as well as by some encouraging results.

—Many approaches that are being applied in the agricultural sector today are a manifestation of certain new elements in economic organization and management.

—It is natural that efforts should be multiplied in this respect.

In the meantime we held the BCP Central Committee December Plenum, which was vitally important for the practical implementation of the July strategy in restructuring our society as a whole.

—The decisions of the December Plenum resolved certain **key problems** related to the organization and management of our national economy **as a whole.**

—Through these decisions we found the **decisive link** which makes our development in all sectors of restructuring possible.

—Through the December Plenum decisions we reached the **core** of our social renewal and we were able to **combine socialism with the new historical meaning** that characterizes the development of contemporary civilization.

The decisions of the December Plenum fully apply to our agriculture, to its organization and management. Nevertheless, none of this **eliminates** the need for special analytical developments on questions related to agriculture.

—In searching for solutions to these questions we were able and we are still able to postpone them by **manipulating time,** but we cannot remove them from our agenda altogether.

—In addition, the problem cannot be simply **reduced** to specifiying the decisions of the December Plenum and the principles of the July Concept as they apply to agriculture.

—If this were the case, it would not be necessary to devote a **special Central Committee plenum** to this issue.

—Following the July Plenum we **encountered difficulties** in this specific respect. The compilation of a **system of practical approaches and solutions** proved no less difficult and complicated than the elaboration of the concept itself.

It is unnecessary to explain, why the July Concept is the point of departure and the basis of restructuring in agriculture.

The July Concept is an experiment in relying on the basic rules which govern our socialist society and, accordingly, in developing appropriate views and a policy that conforms to these rules.

—This is very important because any effort to disregard the objective rules would be likely to create social disturbances and to unleash subjectivism and voluntarism.
—Our principles were developed on the basis of the aforementioned rules and our concept was established on the basis of the principles.

This, in very general terms, is the essence of our approach.

We must admit that in the period between the July and the December Plenums we were not able to achieve a meaningful breakthrough in the spirit of the new postulates on restructuring and in the spirit of the concept for the further construction of socialism in our country, and this applies to nearly all sectors of our work.

Was this accidental? What was the reason for our failure? Was it a lack of goodwill for change, or a lack of organization? Or, did we fail in both respects?

It is no secret that, although we worked under the banner of the July Concept, we suffered from a long-standing syndrome called the subjective factor. We tried to blame this factor for all, or nearly all our shortcomings.

In the course of the preparation and implementation of the December Plenum, the three following, basic conclusions were drawn:

The first is that our outdated hierarchy, the bureaucratic system, and the old-fashioned views of our cadres prevailed for a long time and obstructed our progress. We were unable to reach the commodity producers and to penetrate the municipalities, all those places, generally speaking, where people live and work, where the social communities exist.

In certain sectors we went through painful processes without achieving a breakthrough. The decisions of the December Plenum mapped out the most direct paths for achieving this breakthrough.

What is the essence of the question?

—The essential problem is that it is impossible to accomplish a breakthrough from the top. A ministry may be restructured, an association may be restructured, the trusts may be restructured, everything may be restructured, new people may be appointed, but experience shows that a real breakthrough can be only achieved from the bottom.
—The fact that we adopted the company-based organization in accordance with decisions of the December Plenum once more shows that no revolutionary changes can be implemented without relying on the structures where the people live, where they work, and manifest their talents. Unless we do so, we will meet tremendous resistance.

Can we say that this is deliberate resistance?

No, comrades!

We know our cadres, they are devoted to the cause. There has never been and there is no deliberate resistance in our country, but the old-fashioned way of thinking is so strong, so deeply rooted in people's thoughts and attitudes (we should add that everyone began to think about what would happen to him) that all this represented an obstacle and still prevents us from consistently implementing the July Concept.

This is the first conclusion we reached through bitter experience.

The second conclusion is that in order to reach people in the places where they live and work, we should create viable forms of management, organization, and administration.

—Prior to the December Plenum, we had no clear idea of what these forms should represent or how they should be organized. **In addition to this, we frequently relied on forms which were a negation of the new essence.**
—This, in turn, generated new **contradictions.**

Experience confirmed the correctness of our views embodied in the July Concept, that in order to create new forms, it is **not sufficient** that they should represent a method of implementing objective laws on an individual basis. The decisive requirement is that they should embody the following:

—A synthesis of the requirements of the objective laws and their implementation in unity. Any deviation from this requirement makes it impossible to build up strong and effective forms. **The company-based organization represents such a form under the present circumstances.**
—The vital strength of the company-based organization is determined by the fact that it accords with the operation of objective laws, in synthesis with the principles stemming from these laws.

Our theoretical search and the accumulated practical experience has repeatedly shown the urgent need to overcome simplified concepts about the form of management as some kind of exterior packaging for the essence.

—In discussing the new form, we have in mind nothing but **the method of organizing** a certain essence.
—This, however, means that in order to achieve the form it is necessary to introduce **changes** in the **production relations and economic conditions** themselves.
—Without doing so, we can create whatever kind of **mechanisms** we like, we can design and redesign these mechanisms dozens and hundreds of times, but we will not achieve any progress.

This is why, in searching for correct solutions to the problems, we could not reach the **production relations** and what is most important of all—we were unable to penetrate their core—namely socialist property.

How can we describe the basic principle of this issue?

The basic principle stipulates that socialist property is one and indivisible in the great variety of its forms of management. Basing ourselves on this principle, we are now proceeding toward company organization.

—We are creating a company-based organization, beginning with the individual and family company up to giant companies.
—It is evident that the processes of organizing even larger economic trusts will be further pursued.
—This process is being implemented from the bottom to the top, and not from the top to the bottom. It involves the interests of millions of people in our country.

What is the other basic principle of company-based organization? It is the fact that companies are based on legal foundations, namely on the law. What are the company and those working in it entitled to do, and what should they not do—all this is stipulated by law.

—This is an exceptionally important fact, because in dealing with a self-managing society, the legal superstructure plays a role of primary importance.
—Everything is subject to the law and no one is above the law—neither the party, nor the law courts, nor other legal institutions, absolutely no one.

As a result of this, we can be assured that the company-based organization is the form that provides guarantees for the revolutionary renewal of our economy.

What have we created so far? We have built up the basic skeletons of companies in the industrial sector. We are still expected to build up the structures of company-based organizations in the construction and trade sectors, and subsequently in the intellectual sphere, structures that should conform to the principles of the existing company-based organization.

—The main factor now is that the companies that are in the process of being established should abandon their anonymity, and this applies to all those who are working in them. We should not be afraid.
—Naturally, certain problems exist that should be gradually formulated and resolved in view of the specific features characterizing the current, transitional period.
—Nevertheless, we should unrelentingly pursue the line we have adopted. We should not be afraid of the company and should not halt the process of its organization, because this would only increase our difficulties.

This is the second conclusion to be drawn.

The third conclusion is related to the fact that on the basis of our own and other countries' experience, relying on our analytical research on the new developments of the contemporary world, **we were able to develop a clear concept on the profile of the problems that are of decisive importance for the successful progress of restructuring.**

—This is very important also because we wasted so much time investing a great deal of effort in dealing with problems that are actually only the **result** of other, **decisive** factors related to our development.

This applies to the concept stipulating that productive forces are the basic foundations of our development, including all consequences stemming from this fact.

—Our conclusion about the **new technological method of production** drawn at the December Plenum is the basic point of departure from which we are now operating in resolving all other questions.
—This basic point of departure today plays a particular role in the development of **correct approaches** to restructuring in **production relations.**
—We are basing ourselves on this point of view in dealing with the problems of **company-based organization** and with the restructuring process in **agriculture.**

Summing up all these statements we can say: **The three aforementioned conclusions make it possible for us to develop large-scale activities in implementing the July Concept.**

—We have the necessary visions and we have accumulated the necessary practical experience in this respect.

With all this we are reaching the highest and most difficult stage of our work in restructuring.
—It is the highest stage because we are dealing with the main and decisive matter, namely the **fundamental principles** of our socialist economy.
—It is the most difficult stage, because the accomplishment of this task requires efforts across the **whole range** of our political, organizational, and practical activities.

Under these circumstances, it is not only the questions related to the subjective factor, to the requirements of this factor, and to the establishment of new approaches and a new style of leadership that are being raised in a new manner. Regardless of how important these matters are, **to deal exclusively with the subjective factor would mean, that we have not understood our future tasks.**

—The question is not so much related to the fact that in such periods of transition the overwhelming majority of the working people cannot assimilate all the new elements at once.
—**The question is rather related to the fact of how to proceed step by step under the newly created conditions, how to assert the new elements and uncover their potential, and how to show the advantages of innovations in practical experience.**

What is necessary for our further progress?

There is no doubt that we should pay serious attention to the work connected with the formulation of new problems, to the enrichment of our entire set of visions, postulates, and approaches. This accords with party traditions, and is a requirement of life.

At the same time we should focus our efforts on activities that will guarantee the following conditions:

—Specification of our principles through specific and effective **economic, social, and legal mechanisms;**

—Transformation of our new postulates into **organizational methods, leadership methods, and practical methods.**

—Every movement in the restructuring process should be evaluated from a **political point of view.**

As you can see, we are dealing with issues that are not new, if we consider each of them separately, but considered as a **system** they represent an exceptionally important set of tools for our work.

It is necessary to stress once more that the **main thing today is to begin from the bottom; to assert vital forms of organization; and to develop the productive forces.**

It is evident that also in the agricultural sector the principles of company-based organization should be the core of this complex, because only on this basis can all other questions be resolved.

The present BCP Central Committee is called upon to sum up the broad discussion that took place in our country. It should provide a meaningful interpretation of the theoretical and practical solutions of the recent past, and—above of all—it should develop the general political and organizational-practical basis for comprehensive restructuring in the agricultural secotr.

II On the Place and Role of Agriculture in the Country's National Economic Complex [chapterhead]

Comrades,

1. As is known, socialist Bulgaria inherited a poor and backward economic system which was aggravated by the devastation of the war.

This economic system mainly consisted of small-scale agricultural production and some food processing branches in the light industry sphere.

This is confirmed by the data on our economic structure available from that period.

—**In 1939**—the most prosperous year of the prewar period—gross agricultural production represented over 59 percent of the total social product in Bulgaria, and net agricultural production represented nearly 65 percent of our national income.
—Naturally, at that time our exports also consisted of agricultural raw materials and products in an unprocessed state.

2. **Following 9 September 1944, within a relative short period, our agriculture was restructured on a socialist basis, which was a great achievement.**

Along with this, however, it was subjected to numerous trials resulting from the personality cult.

—Agriculture, as well as our country's entire economic system, faced a situation of crisis.
—Production was drastically reduced and the situation in the villages deteriorated, which even led to local revolts.

Following the April Plenum of the BCP Central Committee in 1956, we faced the task of **not only restoring agriculture and expanding the advantages of the collective form, but of rapidly developing industrialization, and of establishing new economic branches likely to give our country the opportunity of joining the international division of labor.**

This task was successfully implemented. The measures we adopted to consolidate agriculture made it possible to restore its strength, and even gave our agricultural sector the chance of becoming a basic source of resources for other national economic branches.

—The agricultural sphere was the main source of additional growth of manpower in the industrial sector, of means for investment in modern economic branches, and of opportunities for structural changes in our entire economic.
—Because of the urgent requirement for additional resources which emerged in the immediate post-April Plenum period, these processes also involved our forestry and its production.

3. While focusing atte:.tion on industrialization, we are obliged to adopt measures that will promote agricultural production itself to a new level, as well as restore our forestry resources.

Considerable successes were achieved in this respect.

—The **basic funds** in agriculture increased nearly 6.6 times compared with 1956, while in 1988 (according to preliminary data) this rate of increase already amounted to 7.4 times.
—A significant **material-technical base** was created in agricultural production compared with the size of our country.

4. **All these achievements, in addition to the measures for the concentration and specialization of agriculture, which were implemented in 1988, open up new opportunities,** such as:

—A 2.5 percent increase of agricultural production, while the number of agricultural workers is expected to be considerably reduced;
—A considerable increase in the contribution of agriculture to exports, while at the same time the structure of this contribution is expected to undergo a substantial transformation.

The figures speak for themselves in this respect:

—While in 1956, when over 50 percent of our exports consisted of agricultural production, nearly half of these products were unprocessed agricultural goods, in 1985 the correlation to the advantage of processed agricultural products was nearly 4:1.
—While the proportion of agricultural and food industry products in our exports has been decreasing at a relatively steady rate over the last 30 years to the advantage of the industrial branches, the absolute amount of such products increased nearly 17 times during the same time.

Despite the fact that these figures are incomplete and subject to price fluctuations, they unmistakably indicate that during the period of socialist construction agriculture has undergone **a historic change.**

—In addition to the great economic changes in the agricultural sector, the progress is confirmed by thousands of villages equipped with modern buildings and social assets, which in many respects, can compete with the achievements of our towns.

We are fully justified in stating: **The successful progress of our agriculture is a worthy contribution to the country's socioeconomic and intellectual development, to the Bulgarian people's prosperity.**

A historical assessment shows that we not only succeeded in the socialist construction of agriculture, but we also correctly accomplished our tasks along this path.

5. **Nevertheless, in the course of our development the model adopted in the agricultural sector began to exhaust its possibilities. As in other spheres, problems accumulated in this sector and certain negative phenomena emerged.**

The **rates of growth** began to decrease. The reasons for this state of affairs cannot be solely attributed to the deterioration of natural factors, or to the unstable situation on the world market.

—A trend toward increasing **material expenditures** in agricultural production is manifesting itself.
—The **profitability of this branch** has been deteriorating in recent years.

6. **The necessary conclusion was drawn that the aforementioned phenomena and trends are a logical manifestation of the exhausted possibilities of our extensive economic development, agriculture included.**

—These questions, phenomena, and processes were analyzed at the July Plenum.

In basing ourselves on the specific conditions and on the past and present role of agriculture in our economic development, we can definitely say that agriculture, as a basis for the accelerated development of our new economic branches, such as machine building, electronics, the chemical industry, and others, **is beginning to suffer from the following shortcomings:**

—First of all, from the **shortage of resources** for its own reproduction;
—From difficulties related to the **high-cost type** of production in branches dealing with the supply of agricultural equipment and fertilizers, as well as in the branches dealing with the processing of agricultural goods;
—From the need to **compensate for the low foreign exchange returns** of certain leading productions in other branches which are consumers of considerable currency resources;
—From the **lack of necessary support** from other branches which are well equipped with modern and highly productive installations, and so forth.

7. **Numerous problems have accumulated which must be resolved.**

—The relative share of capital investments for agriculture is steadily decreasing, for example;.
—The principle of equality in the exchange of agricultural production with other branches is being violated;
—Certain disproportions in the development of the social infrastructure in our villages, compared with towns, were allowed to occur;

8. **It is required further to develop and enrich our agricultural policy on the basis of the July Concept.**

—This policy should be coordinated with the new law-governed rules and requirements at the current stage of development.
—The task is **to resolve the urgent problems connected with the place and role of agriculture in our national economy on a comprehensive, priority basis.**

The main requirement is to initiate a policy that will genuinely promote the agricultural sector to a qualitatively new level while considering the current situation, the role assigned to agriculture in connection with satisfying the needs of the domestic market under the present conditions, and the need to increase the contribution of the agricultural sphere to the international division of labor.

It is necessary for the government promptly to adopt a program of **structural and technological** changes in the agricultural sector and in the processing industry branches.

—Our efforts in amending the structure of the agricultural sector should consistently correspond to our environmental and climatic conditions, as well as the requirements of the international market, where we should compete with other, advanced countries.

9. **The requirement to promote the relations between agriculture and other branches of our country's economy to a qualitatively new level is an important task of our country's structural policy.**

This means that we should definitely deal with the needs of agriculture on a priority basis as regards the development programs of the machine building industry, chemical industry, electronics, biotechnology, power supply, and the transportation sectors.

—This question was raised on several occasions, but has so far not been effectively resolved. It is evident that a radical change is called for in the relations between these and other national economic branches and agriculture.
—**The agricultural machine building industry should play its appropriate role** in the general range of products and in the overall volume of the domestic machine building industry, as well as in the international division of labor on the basis of CEMA production sharing and specialization.
—The agricultural machine building industry should promptly introduce the **production of technical equipment for agriculture in mountainous and hillside regions,** and the production of technical equipment for **state-owned and private** farms.
—The chemical industry should urgently accomplish the necessary **restructuring of its production** by not only increasing the production of mineral fertilizers and pesticides, but by also improving their consumer qualities; this branch should also increase the variety of its products and guarantee the agro-ecological balance.

We have definite possibilities in this respect. Enterprises and industrial sectors exist which, on the basis of association and mutual interest, are capable of promoting the progress of several agricultural organizations.

—The economic mechanism under the conditions of company-based organization should be correctly adapted so as to direct the interests of various commodity producers toward **investments** in agricultural production.
—All economic regulators, such as taxes, prices, payments, and the credit mechanism, should contribute to the achievement of this goal.
—Along with this, the necessary economic conditions should be created for economic organizations so that they may **ensure their own** expanded reproduction.
—The principles of company-based organizations should be implemented also in this connection, in order to promote the **initiative** and increase the **sense of responsibility** of agricultural commodity producers related to **investments.**
—The necessary incentives should be created for this purpose through **the taxation system** and other **economic levers.**

10. **Restructuring measures in the investment policy on a state level should not be underestimated.**

As world experience also shows, it is impossible to build up a modern agriculture and animal breeding sector without the effective and purposeful contribution of the state.

In view of this, it is necessary to preliminarily orient investments as appropriate on a national level.

In closing the chapter dealing with this range of problems, we should draw a few general conclusions:

The first is that, in assessing the specific conditions and the level achieved in our agricultural development, we should search for the most direct path of coordinating it with the principles and mechanisms that we are introducing in the economic sector as a whole.

The second conclusionis, that in applying such forms and mechanisms under the conditions of company-based organization, on the basis of the economic interest, a new form of unity and cooperation between agriculture and the leading industrial branches should be achieved.

—Our entire economy should be involved in the task of restructuring agriculture, while the socialist state steers the interests of the commodity producers in this direction with its actions at the points of "input" and "output."
—Under the new conditions we should develop a new form of integration between agriculture, on the one hand, and industry, science, and other spheres of life, on the other. This integration is likely to revive our agriculture and modernize its socialist image.

The third conclusionis that the measures and approaches we are obliged to adopt in order to achieve all these goals should be aimed at one target—namely at raising the level of productive forces in agriculture, gradually building up a new economic culture, a new technological production method.

—Whatever we do, regardless of which organizational forms of production we create, regardless of what economic regulators we introduce, all these factors should conform to the specific conditions and the accumulated

experience, the actually achieved integration, and specialization of production. They should take into account the current development levels, and provide extensive opportunities for the further expansion of productive forces.

One more factor should be considered. In advancing toward the introduction of new forms and mechanisms in our economic activities we should deal with man—the direct producer—on a priority basis.

—This is so, because without man, without his spirit of enterprise, without his interests as a manager, producer, and consumer—the means of labor are dead and their property remains anonymous.

III. On the Model of Agriculture at the Current Stage [chapterhead]

Comrades, in dealing with the problems of this sphere, we base our considerations on the fundamental postulate that **our agriculture is a socialist one, that it is further developing as such.**

—The recent discussion showed our people's unshakable conviction and confidence in the correctness of socialist management. There is no other alternative.

Along with this, our past experience shows that in order to make our agriculture strong and profitable, it is necessary **further to improve** and to **modernize** the forms, mechanisms, and organizational forms of management on the basis of appropriate changes in **production relations.** It would be a fatal mistake to underestimate these facts in any way whatsoever.

First: Our agriculture is now facing the need for restructuring on the basis of the principles of company-based organization.

In this context we are obliged to accomplish a resolute and vitally important practical step toward a new model of agriculture.

1. **The question of the basic organizational-economic unit that should be adopted emerges in this connection.**

We need an organizational-economic unit through which to achieve the following goals:

—Implementing the principles of company-based organization in agricultural production;
—Actively promoting the concepts of the July Plenum on the unity and indivisibility of socialist property;
—Providing conditions and opportunities for the development of a great variety of forms facilitating the management of company-based organization in agriculture through a direct link between the producer and the production means based on economic interests.

This is only one factor on which we should rely in selecting an appropriate organizational-economic structure of agriculture in accordance with the structure of the companies.

Another factor is connected with the requirement,in making this selection, **most efficiently to use the positive experience** and the advantages revealed in recent years by the establishment of brigades, based on piecework organization and on piecework wages, in the agricultural sector.

The new organizational-economic units, which function on the principles of company-based organization, should be further promoted as natural successors and continuers of the aforementioned brigades, adapted to present-day conditions.

What should these units be called? **It would be appropriate to adopt the term of agricultural farm—because it is very explicit, and because it is close to the mentality of our agricultural workers and would be most readily accepted in accordance with their traditions.**

The agricultural farm may exist in a great variety of forms:

—It may function as a state, cooperative, or individual company-based structure;
—Accordance to current need, special teams and brigades specializing in plant growing, animal husbandry, and other branches may be integrated in the farms;
—The efforts and interests of pieceworkers and leaseholders may be integrated on an economic and contractual basis, they may associate with other commodity producers on the basis of shareholder principles on a territorial basis, or along vertical lines.

As a result, the establishment of agricultural farms, by means of which company-based organization is introduced in this sector, represents the chief element of restructuring in agriculture.

—This, precisely, is our point of departure.

Our previous achievements in **piecework organization**, through which certain elements of company-based organization were applied, are encouraging in this respect.

—Wherever agricultural brigades have been established on the basis of piecework principles, they have manifested their vital strength and highly stimulated the further development of agriculture.

One of the undoubted advantages of piecework organization related to wages and to the land-lease form of management in agriculture is the fact that it helped to create the most favorable prerequisites for the following achievements:

—A considerable improvement in the final results of agricultural work based on available resources;
—A **growing individual incentive for the interests** of direct producers;
—**The establishment of close links between labor and incentives** related to the management of the land and other production means.

The following benefits can only be achieved on this basis:

—Leading the individual worker out of his anonymity and turning him into a real exponent of power, with clearly defined and specific rights, duties, and responsibilities—for the land, for the other objects of socialist property, and for the results of management;
—The implementation of a new economic link along the entire chain—from scientific research and technological planning to the distribution and consumption of labor results in production and in society as a whole;
—The achievement of a drastic change in production relations and a new upsurge in the development of production forces and in agriculture, based on the economic interests of commodity producers.

This is what the figures say:

The volume of **piecework organization** considerably improved in 1989 compared with 1987. Piece work is applied in the production of 100 percent of tobacco, 80 percent of our vegetables, 75 percent of fruit, 60 percent of cereals, 70 percent of meat, and 72 percent of milk.

Progress has been achieved in improving the essence and forms of piecework from the point of view of the requirements of commodity-monetary relations.
—The number of piecework teams working on the basis of market prices, on the basis of internal accounting prices, and on the basis of 100 leva worth net production has increased.

The best results are achieved where piecework organization is combined with the assets of modern technical equipment. The piecework teams engaged in highly productive labor are organized on modular principles and on the requirements of crop rotation.

—These teams organize the production and marketing of agricultural goods on a contractual basis, while trying to apply the most updated achievements of scientific-technical progress and observing optimal crop rotation requirements.

The number of piecework teams engaged in highly productive labor increased to 1039 in 1988, compared with 100 in 1987.

The application of the piecework system considerably expanded in the sphere of service, auxiliary, and peripheral activities.

Practical experience shows that most of the teams engaged in highly productive labor obtain average yields and labor productivity rates that are 18 to 23 percent higher than those of the average yields of other brigades, and 25-30 percent higher than the average yields achieved in agro-industrial cooperatives.

Such positive trends also appear in connection with the changes in material expenditures per production unit.

Naturally, work cannot be organized on the basis of highly productive piecework teams everywhere.

—It is evident that selection will depend on existing conditions, on the profile of the arable land, and on the cultivated crops, as well as on the available technical equipment, and on other factors.

Under the conditions of mountain and upland regions it is necessary to search for and apply other forms of organizing agricultural production on company-based principles.

—The land-lease system may turn out to be one of the most appropriate organizational forms in such areas.
—A new approach is required in this case by handing over the land to a group of producers, families, or individual citizens, under the land-lease form on the basis of 5, 10, 20, or 50-year contracts.

Such a model is now being developed in the Smolyan area. It envisages the land being entirely managed according to this method.

—This form of organization will presumably be practiced in mountain and upland regions, because wherever this system was correctly applied, it already manifested its advantages.

An unmistakable principle should be observed in this respect—namely that the most viable and competitive method should be applied under given circumstances.

As we can see, the **principle of piecework organization and wages, when combined with the land-lease system, makes it possible to endow the present structures with a new essence, which makes them viable and profitable.**

The establishment of collective forms of land management is in process. This system cannot and **should by no means by imposed from the top.** It should start at the initiative of piecework teams, individual pieceworkers and lease-holders. They will voluntarily unite and select the optimal structures and organizational forms of production, of production sharing, of associating on a shareholder basis, and so forth.

Regardless of the type of agricultural farm—specialized, or mixed, animal husbandry farms, plant growing farms, or complex farms—**this trend of voluntary association between pieceworkers and land-leasers should be observed everywhere.**

2. **Regardless of the forms of organization we are establishing in the villages, they should be linked to the municipality and township. The functions of townships are of particular importance because this is where people live and work.**

—As a result of this, the new forms of land management should be built up as an integral part of the life of townships and municipalities.

In addition, agricultural farms can be established in given municipalities, where different brigades exist. The structure and choice of forms should be determined by the conditions, the specific characteristic features of the land, and the requirements of the respective townships and municipalities.

With its rights and responsibilities in dealing with these processes, the township and the municipality will increasingly assert their role and responsibilities for the efficient development and specialization of agricultural production and covering the needs of the population on their respective territories.

The following facts should be very clearly understood:

The fact that we are providing extensive opportunities for such forms of land management as land lease, long-term contracts for the products of animal husbandry and other agricultural sectors, and the leasing of land to individual producers, families, groups of citizens, industrial and other enterprises does not mean that we are returning to the past, that we are eliminating socialist property.

—First, this is so because being naturally guided by their individual economic interests, the commodity producers will associate on a voluntary basis, in order to make efficient use of the technical equipment and the overall infrastructure, in order to ensure they are supplied with necessary materials, with the necessary processing methods, and to guarantee the transportation of their goods, and so forth.
—Second, this is so because the commodity producers are able to organize efficient production by forming associations with one another, by cooperating with other agricultural farms, and by establishing respective associations on a shareholder basis with the aforementioned farms, or with industrial companies.
—Third, this is so because the state is standing at the points of "input" and "output" and will demand that all activities should be subject to the law.

This is how all agricultural farms will work on the basis of uniform principles under the conditions of company-based organization and will be subject to a uniform economic system. They will implement their rights and responsibilities related to the management of the land and contribute to enriching socialist property on a legal basis.

At the present stage it would be correct to settle the legal-normative questions related to the use of the land and to the organization of agricultural activities on the basis of a State Council decree.

This decree, in its very essence, should deal with the **forms and mechanisms of land management:**

—The decree will give impetus to the peasants' economic initiative and enterprising spirit.
—It will create prerequisites for a revival of production sharing among commodity producers and for investing the agricultural brigades with new economic and social meaning;
—The decree will contribute to overcoming the people's alienation from the land and makes it possible for every piece and every inch of the land to have its owner who will cultivate, protect, and fertilize it.

Can we describe the main new elements of this decree?

This document facilitates the transition from changes in the superstructure to fundamental changes affecting basic production relations, namely property relations.

It is the first time that guarantees and equal economic conditions for the development of all forms of land management are being established.

—The state, as well as the individual commodity producers—the workers, their families, and the collectives—are working on the basis of fundamentally new relations under the conditions of the piecework, the land-lease, and shareholders systems.
—Bureaucratic methods of leadership and administration are replaced by economic and legal methods of influencing commodity producers.
—The state and the individual workers will share the same interest in protecting and increasing socialist property on the basis of stable and reliable contractual relations.

Under the new forms of management—such as piecework, land-lease, and the participation of working people as shareholders—the people's rights to independently organize their economic activities and freely use the results of their labor are expanding greatly.

Their responsibilities for the final results of economic activities are increasing at the same time. This is because:

—It is the first time that the current practice of paying wages for work accomplished is replaced by providing income for actually achieved economic results.
—The working people are responsible for implementing land-lease and piecework contracts they have signed and must guarantee this fulfillment with their own property.

The state shall no longer deal with specific tasks related to the organization of economic activities.

—The state shall deal with agricultural production through economic rules and contracts under which land and other means of production will be transferred to the people.

The new mutual relations connected with the use of land and the organization of agricultural production activities should no longer be implemented according to administrative-command methods.

—These relations shall be considered as based on equal rights and shall be settled by contracts.

For this reason the State Council decree in question should provide solid, legal guarantees for protecting the state's and the working people's rights and responsibilities.

—This means that such mutual relations cannot depend on the goodwill of the "bosses," or on their moods and preferences.

—Our stand in this respect is well-known: Only a law court, and no other institution whatsoever, is entitled to settle disputes that may appear in this sector.

For this reason, we are justified in stating that the decree provides agricultural workers with a powerful instrument for protecting their rights and interests against bureaucratic encroachment. We are now building the legal-normative basis on which the new economic and social relations in the Bulgarian village will be established.

3. **What kind of higher ranking institution**, superior to the agricultural farms, should be established on a territorial scale?

The so-called **markets,** [borsi] which the agricultural farms and their associations will establish on a voluntary basis, are the most appropriate organs in this respect.

The markets are the organizations where the producers of agricultural goods and their associations are selling their goods. They are in charge of finishing the products, packaging and transporting the goods to domestic and international markets, and arranging the supply of farms with necessary raw materials, chemical industry products, and so forth.

—The agricultural producers have a share in the distribution of the profits made by the market to the extent to which they contribute to the establishment of the respective market.

—Other commodity producers and banks are entitled to participate in the markets.

—Commodity producers are entitled to sell their products outside the market, if they wish to do so, but only after they have fulfilled their contractual obligations.

The number of markets to be established in a given oblast is a specific question that should additionally be discussed. It would perhaps be expedient to establish a market for agricultural goods in each of the former okrug centers.

This exhausts the so-called **territorial aspect** of the changes in the organizational structure and of their integration on an economic basis.

—We are talking about a chain, from the commodity producer to the market, which is created on a totally voluntary basis.

The question of how many employees should work in the markets is the concern of the producers, for the associations are theirs. This applies both to markets established on municipal territories and to the markets that will be established on larger territories.

—They will all be economic organizations established on the basis of the people's interests and not for the sake of the current bureaucrats.

Second. Another problem that should be resolved by the organizational and structural changes in agriculture is the development of vertical integration.

In this respect, we today not only need a simple reform of the existing organizational structure but also a form of integration capable of achieving the following goals:

—The form of integration should be based on the interest of agricultural goods producers in improving the results of their work in selling their finished products;
—The interests of the producers should be linked to those who are processing agricultural goods, and additional investments should be attracted to agriculture;
—In the final analysis we should ensure the intensive processing of agricultural products as is practiced in the advanced countries so as to guarantee a new level of satisfying the people's needs and a high profitability on international markets.

We have acquired a certain experience and certain successes related to specific cases of integration between agriculture and the food industry.

—However, this integration was practically reduced to establishing joint organizational structures and monopolistic forms of organization, without merging the economic interests.

It is evident that a radical change is called for in this connection.

The integration of agriculture with other branches should encompass the entire production process, including the food industry, light industry, transportation, construction, trade, and so forth.

We are dealing with a form of integration which is implemented mainly as an economic integration of interests on the basis of company organization.

Let us take, for example, the question of grain: wheat, corn, soy, and others. To intensively implement the cultivation of these products and to ensure their full utilization to satisfy the people's needs, or to supply animal fodder, we should establish a certain form of organization:

—This should be an organization in which all producers should participate on a shareholders' basis, from the "roots" to the intensive processing of the finished product.
—The question concerns a shareholders' society that should include grain producers and organizations from other branches of industry, trade, and so forth.

Such shareholders associations should be established for the following purposes:

—For technical crops, such as cotton, linen, hemp, and silkworm farming;
—In the sector that produces and processes hides, wool, and other items.

The problems of meat, milk, and other such goods could be resolved in the same manner.

All these organizations can be established on a national scale, and also (if it is expedient) on a regional basis, depending on the needs and requirements of production and of the market.

All other organs should be eliminated and only the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry should be retained. It will resolve those questions which are solely within the competence of state policy and can only be settled by the state, because such problems cannot be resolved by the agricultural farms and no shareholders association whatsoever is capable of dealing them.

This is how the producer and the state can merge, but not along the administrative path.

—Planning will also be possible, but only through shareholders' societies along vertical, and not along horizontal, lines. We will also be able to implement the necessary production balance and to orient the capital investments to those sectors which are most useful and effective for the well-being of our society.
—The state plays a very important role in this respect. However, this role will not be implemented in a bureaucratic manner as in the past, but rather on an economic basis.

This is because the state is "integrated" in all places and is involved in the direction of all processes.

—The state is "integrated," in the first place through a normative system of land management.
—The state is "integrated" through taxation and profits, and there is no danger of socialist property being dismantled.

We should not delude ourselves into thinking that all these initiatives, implemented on such a large scale and on the basis of such radical principles, will proceed smoothly.
—The drastic changes are actually affecting the level of the trusts and, higher up, the level of associations.
—At these levels, as well as at a brigade level **we will encounter numerous difficulties, because the brigades should not remain the same as they are at the present stage.**

In order to resolve these problems, it is necessary to adopt a new understanding and a new thinking, as well as new actions, based on the present-day criteria regarding labor and its efficiency. However, the agricultural workers are not ready for this.

—This is where the basic difficulties will stem from.

In closing our deliberations on this range of questions we should sum up that we are proceeding toward a new vision and new approaches related to our agricultural sector as a whole, as regards its management, and organization.

In adopting the aforementioned principles of organization and management we are creating extensive possibilities of transferring the available financial, material, manpower, and other resources according to the following trends:

—Along the horizontal and vertical structure of agriculture;
—Among different production units and territories;
—From other branches to agriculture.

The decisive issue today is to develop and apply the most appropriate, flexible mechanisms, that should be conform with the current tasks and stimulate these processes. The socialist state will participate most actively in the development and regulation of these mechanisms.

The basic difference between this approach and all those applied in the past lies in the fact that, without denying the requirement of orienting investments toward agriculture on a priority basis, we are taking care of the commodity producers' opportunities and interests.

By doing this we eliminate the practice of indiscriminately distributing money "from the top."

The state will of course support these processes in the future. Nevertheless, investments should be oriented expediently, so that priority nationwide projects and tasks may be implemented.

Third. In connection with expanding the processes of renewal in agriculture, it is necessary to adopt a totally new stand on the question of forests and their management.

It is not necessary to prove the exceptional importance of forests in all respects: for human life, for agricultural development, from the ecological point of view, and so forth.

—Forests represent timber.
—They are a source of water.
—They provide 80 percent of the oxygen we are breathing.
—They determine, to a considerable extent, the microclimate in various regions, and all over the country.
—They are responsible for the fertility of the soil, to a great extent.
—They are and can be a very important source of meat, milk, and wool.

It is absolutely necessary to engage in the modern and civilized development and exploitation of this immense resource of wealth. This means that we should engage in totally restructuring our views and approaches to this sector, and that this restructuring should be adopted as state policy.

1. This is how the question of forest exploitation should be dealt with, and this applies in particular to timber production.

The results achieved in the development of our forests following the 1956 April Plenum of the BCP Central Committee represent a definite commitment in this respect.

—Despite the fact that we were obliged to fell numerous trees at that time, the intensive afforestation that was organized at a later period contributed to a substantial increase in our timber reserves.
—The average annual growth of our forests increased from 6,153,000 cubic meters to 9,111,000 cubic meters in the 1960-1988 period alone.
—Coniferous plantations, in particular, represent a very promising resource, which could be intensively used within the next 40 years when all these forests will mature on a mass scale.
—It is particularly important to devote optimal care to broad-leaved plantations today.

The main thing here is to preserve the beech plantations, carrying out the necessary selective felling for cultivation purposes and ensuring the production not of round tree trunks, but of timber for processing for the pulp and paper industry and for production of board materials.

For example, the specialists' calculations show that the quantity of this timber, in the overall balance, is expected to increase by about 63 percent, that this timber will be subjected to chemical and technological processing instead of mechanical processing, and that this production will mainly be obtained from selective felling in young coniferous and broad-leaved forests.

However, in order to meet this requirement it is necessary to finally stop employing the technology and equipment previously used for selective felling, which literally destroys and breaks down everything in its path and is 20 years out of date.

This is how matters stand with the question of timber.

2. **Vast possibilities are offered in the mountain and upland regions for the development of highly productive animal farming.**

This applies particularly to a country like ours, because of our stock of agricultural land, which includes 15,157,000 decares of common land and pastures, **8,800,000 decares lie in mountain and upland regions, and 1,089,000 decares form part of the forest stocks.**

However, these exceptional possibilities are not being utilized at the moment. For one reason or another, the pastures are neglected, and there are no farmers or anyone else to concern themselves with their effective utilization.

—We, have depopulated our mountains, figuratively speaking.

There is a clear need for a radically different approach in seeking a fundamental solution to all the pressing questions connected with the rational use of the pastures and meadows in general, particularly in the mountain and upland regions.

This new approach should ensure the following:

—a fundamentally new system of agriculture in these regions, with different forms of organization and management, mainly through a combination of family and individual forms of piecework and leasehold; and

—encouraging a high level of long-term interest by all the means of the economic mechanism and through the accelerated construction of the necessary social infrastructure.

As well as this, specific and speedy measures are needed to **further improve the quality of the pedigree breeding stock for animal farming,** for which many preconditions have already been created.

There is no doubt that these regions can be utilized most effectively if **the numbers of cattle and sheep are sharply increased**. Suitable breeds of animals are available for this purpose in Bulgaria.

In brief, the question of increasing the total numbers of cattle, mainly by a breakthrough in raising them on pastures, can provide a great return for us. It is important to create the necessary incentives, to build up a suitable base, and to create long-term interests in order to retain the herdsmen and shepherds, and also attract suitable people from other regions.

The question is evidently a complex one, and demands a complex solution:

—by using the most suitable forms of labor organization and of linking people with the land;
—by using the required incentives and social prerequisites, and by introducing the most rational technologies.

Using the voluntary principle as a basis, everyone living in these regions may raise sheep, cattle, and other animals in numbers depending on his own possibilities and desires.

The pastures, meadows, and animals should be handed over on piecework principles or on leasehold terms by auction.

In order to speedily build up a suitable **social infrastructure** in these regions, the leaseholders and pieceworkers should be granted certain rest houses, villas, and so on, which may also be acquired by requisitioning them from the relevant departments.

—To compensate the latter departments, as well as citizens owning villa properties, they should be given other properties of equivalent value.

Fourth, regarding certain issues connected with the development of the **technologies and material-technical base for agriculture.**

It should certainly be stated that the final economic results, the quality of agricultural products, and the content and attractiveness of agricultural work all depend on the level of the technologies and the material-technical base and the extent of their development and utilization.

In short, these material elements of the forces of production most largely determine the role and contribution of agricultural production to our entire social development.

We must bear in mind that a considerable number of problems have accumulated over the years with the technologies and with the development and use of the material-technical base.

—Certain types of equipment, parts of the stock of buildings, and so on show a considerable degree of wear and tear.
—The material expenditures needed to produce a unit of agriculture production show a continuous rise.
—At the same time, the equipment is lacking, or is not being fully used, and so on and so forth.

Data and judgments of this kind may be seen in many reports, analyses, and briefings.

So what is proposed in the final event?

New expenditures on increasing the quantity of agricultural equipment, mass investments in transport, for renewing the building stock, and so on.

Can we really find a solution to the state of affairs by such an approach?

—Certainly not, because the possibilities of this approach, which are the possibilities of extensive development, are already exhausted.
—The issue has already been discussed that our agricultural machine building is being subjected to serious criticism, and that speedy measures should be undertaken in this field.
—In addition, we do not neglect the issue of the supply of new equipment. At the same time, it is clear that we cannot solve the problems by ourselves, because the question concerns hundreds of types of machines and equipment.

What is the outcome?

What is needed is a radically different view concerning the technologies and their development.

—In Bulgaria, in contrast to the leading countries in agricultural production, a concept has developed regarding the agricultural technologies that is not only ineffective from the economic, social, and all other viewpoints, but
—is directly harmful under the new conditions.

What technologies are being applied in the highly developed countries? Are these technologies that are "decked" with all kinds of machinery and electronics throughout the entire reproduction process? Or are they technologies that correspond to the profound essence of this process?

Of course, the application of electronics and automation to the technologies is also developing in agriculture, but only in those areas where it is really necessary and effective.

The main thing is that the previous concept concerning the development of the technologies in Bulgaria is 180 degrees opposed to the concepts being applied in the leading countries.

Why is this so?

This is what experience shows regarding a parallel between American and Bulgarian technologies applied in animal farming.

—In Bulgaria the "backbone" of the applied technologies chiefly consists of operations relating to supplying, transporting, unloading, filling the feed troughs, cleaning the buildings, and removing the effluents (manure).
—All this requires a lot of equipment: tractors, trailers, and so on.
—The operations are labor- and machinery-intensive, take much time, and make the work of our farm worker unpleasant, difficult, and repellent.

However, specialists in the United States long ago reached the conclusion that almost all the operations mentioned above are unnecessary.

In their view, the most important thing is not that the feed should come to the animals, but that the animals should go to their feed. (In Bulgaria, the reverse is the case.)

—Hence, this leads to the broad expansion of pasture animal farming with a minimal material base, a low fund content, and the elimination of labor-intensive operations.
—With the same or practically identical amounts of technical equipment, under more unfavorable weather conditions, and with practically the same levels of skill among the workers, they achieve 10 times higher productivity and profitability in the production of meat, milk, and so on.

A similar picture also exists in plant growing: Everywhere the emphasis falls on simplified nature-friendly technologies.

If we apply the advantages of this model "in photographic form," in conformity with our conditions, in the mountain and upland regions, as well as in other territories, we can achieve much.

Here no investments are needed; quite the contrary, substantial funds will be released, which are so greatly needed to improve the degree of technical equipment in other directions, to develop the social infrastructure, and so on.

What is needed is consistent new thinking, a radically different view of the issues relating to technological policy in agriculture.

—The issue that concerns us is not to modernize the present base, but to renew it in a qualitative sense.
—We must boldly move toward technologies that require less labor, less material expenditures, and less energy.
—If we use this approach, we will not merely achieve a breakthrough in resolving the problems, in retaining the cadres, and in increasing the social prestige of the agricultural worker.
—In many places it will be found that there is an excess of manpower, instead of a shortage.

In general, the problems with developing both the material-technical base and the labor resources in the villages will appear in a radically different light, and a number of them will disappear.

In brief, the possibilities are exceptional, but they can only be developed on the basis of a radically renewed concept concerning the technologies in agriculture.

Here, too, the **scientific front** owes a considerable debt to practice.

In this context, special attention must be given to **two** cardinal **problems**:

—the development of agricultural science itself, and the raising of the level of professional qualification of the cadres employed in agriculture.

At present our **agricultural science** has **serious weaknesses and shortcomings.**

—These are weaknesses caused by the overall state of agriculture, by its failure to utilize our own and foreign scientific achievements, and therefore we cannot blame the scientific cadres alone.
—We have at our disposal a **scientific potential** that is **considerable** for the size of the country.
—More than 2,800 scientific workers, including 1,200 candidates of sciences, 167 doctors of sciences, 122 docents, and 127 professors are working in over 100 scientific organizations forming the system of the Agricultural Academy.
—Despite certain achievements in the field of selection, genetics, and other scientific spheres, the **standard** of agricultural science has shown a **sharp and continuous fall** in recent years.
—What we see is a "self-generation" of **scientific cadres** that are **extremely backward** with respect to their professional qualifications and capacities for creative research work.

—**The subject matter of scientific researches** is largely **at variance with the most important problems of agricultural production**; new varieties and breeds that correspond to modern requirements are not being created and introduced; pollution of the soil and waters with fertilizers and chemicals harmful to health is being permitted; and the technologies proposed for plant-growing continue to strengthen the extensive method of production.

—Our agricultural science is **becoming a partner who is less and less in demand** on an international scale, including by the other socialist countries.

Toward which aims should we direct the development of agricultural science?

—First and foremost, agricultural science should **"return to the bosom" of the real agricultural problems** and engage in resolving them, not in accordance with our own "homegrown" criteria, but in conformity with the peak world achievements.
—It must **be made the main factor for transfer of the best foreign knowledge, management experience, and technologies.**
—**Substantial changes** must occur **in the training, development, and use of the scientific cadres.** Here, too, the criteria must be the real scientific and practical results, conforming to world achievements.
—**A new approach** is also required to **building up and developing the material-technical base** of agricultural science; the **chief, determining feature** of this approach should be the **economic relations** of the scientific institutes with the production organizations, based on mutual advantage. The state for its part should also increase its own participation in this process.
—During the next few years Bulgarian **agricultural science** must **re-establish its name and position as a respected and sought-after partner** both in Bulgaria and abroad.

Many serious problems exist in the **provision of cadres** for agriculture.

—In comparison with contemporary requirements, the position at present is **catastrophic**: 84 percent of the cadres only have basic education or less, while only 2.5 percent possess higher or semi-higher education.
—In recent years practically **no organized purposeful work has been carried out on the professional training of the cadres** directly employed in agriculture. The chief thing for many leaders is to find manpower, no matter what its level of qualification.
—The level, organization, and methods of secondary and higher education for the cadres are outdated and do not meet the requirements.
—Because of these and other weaknesses, **a number of modern technologies**, machines, and installations that have fallen into the hands of untrained cadres **quickly fail** and do not produce the expected results.

In which areas should we look for solutions to these problems?

—The training and professional education of the cadres should be made a continuous process, meeting the specific requirements of each production unit; instead of general professional qualifications, there should be **organized purposeful training in accordance with the requirements of each job.**
—The introduction of new technologies, machinery, and installations should only be carried out if the cadres that are to operate them are well-trained, and on the condition that this is confirmed by certificates issued by the relevant schools and professional training centers. In the event of losses arising as a result of poor professional skills, severe economic sanctions should be imposed on the cadres themselves.

—The secondary and higher education of specialists should be in accordance with the new trends in the development of world agricultural science and practice, the biotechnologies, and electronics. We need **new fields of specialism and new professions, a new organization of the acceptance and training of specialists and the employment of graduates.**

—**Fundamentally new economic interrelations must be established** between the consumers and producers of the cadres, in accordance with their mutual interests and the interests of the man who trains and qualifies for work in agriculture.

Scientific services for agricultural production in modern conditions **can no longer be left for ransom** to agricultural science alone or **remain its sole monopoly.**

—We have to return to the postulates **on the synthesis of electronics and the biotechnologies,** and on this basis define the fundamental and applied problems relating to applying biology, electronics and bioelectronics to agriculture.

—This is now the **highway** along which we must progress to raise the technical and technological levels of agricultural production.

—The question of the degree of mechanical and energy provisions for agriculture requires fresh scientific analysis and solutions. **We now need** not merely individual highly productive and highly powered tractors and other agricultural machines, but **modern processing lines that ensure the full integration and high efficiency of the production processes** in crop growing and animal farming. The creation of such technologies cannot be left solely to agricultural science, but the latter should be the initiator, formulate the parameters and indexes for these technologies, and organize their development.

—On the basis of **mutually beneficial economic relations,** links should be established between agricultural science, scientific institutes, and organizations from other spheres on the one hand, and the consumers of scientific products on the other. For this purpose, joint special-purpose collectives should be set up, joint scientific associations should be formed, or specific tasks should be resolved by direct agreement.

The basic **scientific and practical problems** that stem from the essence of agricultural restructuring may be summarized under a number of main headings.

—On the basis of the experience acquired and utilizing the peak achievements of world science and practice, it is necessary to develop a **new structural model for agricultural production and the processing industry.**

—This model should **ensure the dynamic, effective development** of those subbranches and activities that within the next few years will re-establish the **competitiveness and good name** of our agriculture in the domestic and international markets.

—By utilizing world achievements, agricultural science must quickly **re-establish the country's leading position in the creation of new highly productive, high-quality varieties and breeds** conforming to the country's specific soil, climatic, and ecological conditions.
—The economic and management sciences must **develop** the foundations of the **organizational, production, and management structure of the branch,** and propose an adequate **economic mechanism** to meet the modern principles and postulates for the socialist organization of agriculture.

IV. On the Socialist Future of the Bulgarian Village [chapterhead]

Comrades, the restructuring of Bulgarian agriculture involves profound changes in the life of the Bulgarian village and, conversely, the development of the village is of decisive importance for the renewal of Bulgarian agriculture.

The problem of the village has always been an important one in **the theory and practice** of socialist construction in our country. Care for the village, and strengthening and developing it as an economic, social, and cultural community, have been among our primary concerns.

—The picturesque Bulgarian villages with their neat appearance, rich houses and courtyards, and the new rural everyday life provide clear proof of the revolutionary changes in Bulgaria that have taken place since the socialist revolution.

The April 1956 Plenum of the BCP Central Committee also played a historic role here.

Now, when we are making a **critical assessment** of the road we have covered, it is quite natural for us to reject certain approaches and certain practical decisions.

However, the great truth concerning the fate of the Bulgarian village in the years of socialism still remains.

—This truth is that **revolutionary transformations** were completed in the Bulgarian village, and that these transformations proved to be in the interest of the village and its socialist future.
—**On the basis of these transformations** and the results achieved, we can now proceed toward a **new concept concerning the village under the conditions of restructuring,** toward a new view of the village within society's structure.

What are the main points of support for this concept?

First, from both theoretical and practical viewpoints, we must reject certain views concerning the process of overcoming the differences between the town and the village.

—We have to acknowledge that previously we slavishly followed a thesis, according to which the process of overcoming these differences presupposed a movement of the village toward the town, and converting the village into the town.
—It was considered part of the natural course of events that the village should disappear as a rural structure, and our conceptions of "mankind's bright future" more or less excluded the village from this future.
—An element of utopian socialism remained in this idea, for did not the utopians prescribe 2 years of agricultural labor as a more than sufficient penalty for anyone?

Forgetting Marx' and Engels' idea that the antagonism between the town and village exists only in exploitational societies, we continued to follow the erroneous trend of thought that the overcoming of this antagonism practically implies the disappearance of the uniform type of village.

—The point at issue is not that one village is to disappear and another is to remain, but that we must overcome the **contradictions** between the two types of villages that have accumulated and are hindering the creation of a harmonious **unity** between the village and the town.

Second, in developing the July Concept in this light, we must radically alter our conception of **the role of the village under the conditions of a renewed socialist society.**

—World practice has shown that the solution of the main problems connected with feeding mankind, mankind's ecological preservation, and so on, is impossible without showing concern for the village.
—**The revival of the village is not a romantic fancy or a cry for the good old times that are no more, but a requirement for developed societies and a result of their development.**

World experience itself has confirmed that the attainment of a certain standard of living necessary for a developed society also presupposes a successful adaptation of the village to the scientific, technical, information, and other dimensions of the world's new historical content.

All this makes it necessary for us to radically alter our ideas of the role of the village in Bulgaria from the viewpoint of the socioeconomic processes underway in Bulgaria.

The negative trends in the development of the village have reached a **critical point**, and they must not be allowed to go further than this.

—One is thinking here of the **level of the social and technical infrastructure,** which in the villages is three times lower than in the towns, while in the field of everyday services and communications it is four times lower.

—One is thinking of the limited **cultural and educational possibilities and functions** of considerable numbers of Bulgarian villages.
—In a word, one is thinking of the **sharp restriction of the role of a considerable number of villages in the nation's reproduction.**
—A situation is gradually being created in Bulgaria in which a large proportion of the villages have lost their **qualities** as fully developed **social** and **living** environments for man, and have been destroyed as territorial social systems.

It is evident that the current concept concerning village development must be aimed at reviving the village by continuously increasing its economic, social, and cultural potential, and by turning it into a fully developed ecological and social environment.

Third, the process of reviving the Bulgarian village should be directed and implemented **with exceptional care.**

—We must relate to the village as we do to nature, and not allow its essence to be violated.
—The individual village is a specific organism, whose life is governed by natural laws that may be regulated, but not coerced.
—In this connection, we must reject the "services" of the "specialists" who guess how many villages Bulgaria needs, and at one moment blame some villages for lacking prospects, and at others propose unsuitable means for stabilizing the rural regions.

The only correct way is not to prescribe "medicines" for the villages, but to support the protective powers and creative potential of the village itself.

What has to be done?

In the first place, there must be a change in the **economic status** of the village in the whole of society's life.

The new organization of agricultural production is overcoming the previous disruption of the unity between the labor collective in agriculture and its land.

—The task is to link the agricultural labor collectives with specific villages and rural communities.

By applying new economic forms, the economic life of all the villages and municipalities will be more directly linked with regional, national, and even international economic life.

—In this manner, on **an economic basis,** the village will "be opened up," and the state, the town, and national and international associations will turn toward it.

In the second place, the village must implement its own new functions in **the municipalities and through the municipalities.**

—In most cases, the municipality represents a new type of unity between the village and the town, **a new type of rural community.**
—This will mean that through the municipality, following the principle of **supplementation,** [dopulnitelnost] all the villages within the municipality's territory can achieve their own economic, social, and intellectual fulfillment.
—The development and management of the municipalities will promote the implementation of this process to the highest degree.
—The municipality must be sufficiently strong economically to be a partner for other municipalities, involve itself in the economic life of the state, and so forth.
—On this basis, it can and must resolve the social problems of its inhabitants, develop cultural life, and so on.

Naturally, the municipality's policy should be implemented according to the possibilities of each village.

—There should be no movement of funds, cadres, and so on from the villages to the municipal center, **but rather cooperation** between the villages for the prosperity of the municipality as a whole. This must be the leading principle in the activity of every municipal, state, and social leadership.

The municipality must maintain its own standpoint in relation to the national-level organizations for material and intellectual production.

—It represents the **community** interests of the villages making up the municipality and defends these interests.

Of course, successful work in this direction requires consistent application of **self-management principles.**

—If the municipality is a real self-managing community of the population, it must largely rely on the traditions of the village, not only as an economic community, but also as a social and cultural one.
—The traditional collectivism of the village, reassessed on the basis of our current views, and its possibilities for social unification should also be developed within the municipal framework and, on a wider scale, should enrich our national lifestyle.

In the third place, one should not forget the specific characteristics of the village as a social organism.

—In contrast to the town, the village has **factors that restrict** its development, connected with the nature of farming and its dependence on natural conditions.
—This is to say, the villages are different in nature, and there should be a **diversity of village communities** in order to open up more opportunities for mastering the land.

This also means that **the village is relatively autonomous within the framework of the municipality.**

—Bitter lessons are provided by cases of the badly thought-out unification of villages and of converting them into towns.
—**The more types of village communities we have, the more fully the economic and other processes will develop in the country.**

It must be stressed that this diversity will not "drag" the village backwards.

The reverse is the case.

—The company and cooperative principles, which are imposing themselves as the main principles in the country's economic life, also "work" in favor of this diversity.

—The whole point is that one **common** uniting principle should lie behind this diversity, namely the successful emancipation of the village in the life of society, and the elevation of the village's role in the development of society.

In the fourth place, a profound change is needed in **our social policy regarding the village.**

Before everything, it is necessary to develop the possibilities of the village itself to meet its own social needs.

—This presupposes freedom for the village to meet its needs from its own resources, in the fullest sense of these words.
—Here the townships and municipalities have a crucial role and responsibility.

On the other hand, there is a need for the state, for its part, to solve a number of social problems affecting the village that are being neglected at the moment.

—It is right and proper that the highly concentrated investments and building resources in the town should be "transfused" to the village.
—It is necessary to achieve the provision of a complete range of services for the villages by the relevant structures of the services sector in the town, and so on.

Through its social and economic policies, **the state** can contribute to a considerable extent to solving a number of problems affecting the village.

The essential thing now is to undertake practical measures within a short time scale to ensure the following:

—to restore the reproductive capacities of the village;
—to stabilize the village's cadre potential with regard to the age profile and range of professions;
—to further advance the health services to the villages;
—to improve the living conditions for old people in the villages; and
—to create conditions for rest and recreation for the agricultural workers.

The Bulgarian village must be strengthened, and it must **have young, lively labor resources.**

—Radical changes are needed in the nature of labor. On the basis of the new and progressive technologies, labor must be made more attractive to young people.

In the fifth place, the Bulgarian village must be established as a territory for developing and enriching the intellectual life of society.

It must be emphasized that our village has made an indispensable contribution to building up our socialist science and culture.

—Historically speaking, affairs developed in such a way that following the socialist revolution, **the main proportion** of the Bulgarian intelligentsia came from the villages.
—The time has come for this intelligentsia to turn to face the problems of the Bulgarian village.
—What we need is a creative approach toward the village, and an understanding of the village's life and future.

Of course, this "return" to the village must be realized by using the possibilities of contemporary Bulgarian culture.

—It is necessary to create conditions for the technical means for distributing cultural values to be applied more widely in the Bulgarian villages.

It is especially important to find correct ways to meet the **educational needs** of the village.

—Here the state must play a decisive role.

A village without a school is like a forest without birds, according to the old proverb.
—There is a need to assist the municipalities in every way to resolve the problems of education and to restore the prestige and importance of the village school.
—It is especially important to introduce into the villages new forms of individual and group education, using visual and computer systems, television and radio transmissions, building up and renewing the material-technical base, and overcoming the shortage of teaching cadres.

The shaping of a fully developed, ecologically suitable, and highly efficient rural living environment requires that we direct our efforts toward the following:

a) **Creating a harmonious and nature-loving rural environment** through the preservation of the traditional, typical, and specific village structure, which is organically linked with nature, the land, and everyday village life.
b)**Completing the necessary material-technical base,** to provide every house with the mandatory selection of everyday goods and services by the following means:

—by widely introducing new forms of trade and services, such as buying from mail-order catalogs and subscription, traveling stores, small workshops and markets, combined services (postal and trade, trade and catering, and crafts and trade), and by opening up small cooperative, family, and individual shops for fresh foods and public catering establishments;

—by opening a bakery in every village; opening dairies, delicatessens, confectionery, canning, and other workshops, and opening supermarkets; and

—by building the necessary district department stores, district centers for services, and cooking workshops;

c)**improving transport services for the population** by the following:

—constructing and completing the fourth-class road network to provide a road link for every populated settlement;

—introducing passenger fare tariffs for all cross-country journeys by the public transportation that links the villages with the towns and the villages with one another;

—stimulating the development of individual transportation, including economic activity on an individual basis;

—providing the required fleets of public transport vehicles, including medium-sized and small buses and combined passenger and freight vehicles;

—radically improving communications services to the population by giving priority to installing telephones in the villages and establishing the telephone as the main means of communication in the village;

—decisively overcoming the existing lag in constructing the engineering infrastructure and providing public services in the villages; completing construction of the required water-collecting and intervillage water-main installations to reduce to a minimum the number of population centers which ration water for drinking, industrial, and irrigation purposes; by carrying out a "second electrification" of the Bulgarian village; by completing the construction of village parks and gardens and the planting of trees and shrubs in streets and squares; and

—**providing the necessary construction potential for the village** by the following: forming collective, municipal, and state construction units; giving priority to supplying villagers with the necessary building materials and products, construction tools, and mechanization and transportation means for building; and creating a wide network of decentralized cement-making plants, lime-making installations, warehouses for pipes and fittings, small enterprises for the production of bricks, joinery products, and other building materials, and quarries for the production of stone and inert materials.

In the sixth place, we must increase the **civic prestige** of the agricultural worker.

—Altering the nature of agricultural labor must also alter the attitude to this labor as an activity aimed at satisfying man's basic requirements.

—The new attitude toward agricultural labor must become an expression of a new attitude to the land, and this attitude should be one of high morality and great commitment.

—In the final analysis, this will be a new attitude toward the **farmer,** the man who tills and preserves our Bulgarian land.

Everything that is mentioned above permits us to sum up things by saying that we have a real need for a **national program** for developing the Bulgarian village.

First, this program should contain the **minimum number** of ideas, solutions, and practical actions needed to resolve the village's most pressing problems, which are:

—economic,
—social,
—educational, and
—intellectual.

these ideas, solutions, and practical actions must form the basis of a **scientific project** for developing our villages over the next 40-50 years.

—This project must be different from everything we have done so far, and provide visions and a forecast for our development.

—It should sum up the experience of the advanced countries in this field and our own national experience, and subordinate all this to the aims we set ourselves.

Naturally, one is talking about a **scientific project** that is to be a source for stimulating the possibilities of the whole of Bulgarian science.

—However, the project should be implemented as a state commission of the first priority.

—This means that the finished project must be adopted by the National Assembly and that the fulfillment of the project should form the basis for many years of work by all state and social organs and organizations.

Such projects are well-known in international practice.

—We must submit the nation's scientific potential to a real test to pass on to the coming generations visions and plans that embody our dream of a renewed, cultured, and flourishing Bulgarian village.

Comrades, **as you can see, the problems of agriculture and the tasks for elevating this economy to a qualitatively new stage concern our entire development and demand joint coordinated actions**:

—throughout the entire economy;
—using all the levers and means of our set of economic tools;
—at all levels: in the township and the municipality, in the oblasts, and at the national economic level; and
—in all sectors: economic, social, and intellectual.

Accordingly, the concern for agriculture, for its development and renewal, and for the further prosperity of the Bulgarian village concern all the units making up the subjective factor: the party, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, the social organizations and movements, and the whole of society. This must become a nationwide cause.

Following 9 September 1944, the present-day generations fundamentally altered the face of Bulgaria and changed our land into a modern agro-industrial state. Our plans for the future are even more ambitious. As we expand our forces in the development of industry and seek a new place under the sun for Bulgaria, we do not forget for one moment the people's century-long experience expressed in the words: The fruit may break off the branches unless the roots lie deep in native soil.

At one time our people used to pray for rain, but today we do not offer such prayers. However, there is no Bulgarian today who will not raise his eyes to heaven and express his joy when the blessed rain falls on the thirsty land. Even today, in the epoch of the scientific and technical revolution, the Bulgarian's soul remains firmly bound to his native land, to noble agricultural toil.

The present plenum of the BCP Central Committee is a confirmation of the great importance that we attach to promoting the further strengthening and prosperity of the Bulgarian village.

Our people—in the villages and in the towns, in all the fields in which they work—hold socialist Bulgaria dear in their thoughts; they will greet the plenum's decisions with satisfaction and give them their warm patriotic support.

Soviet Defense Minister Yazov Continues Visit

Discusses Cooperation With Husak

LD1105152289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Today President Gustav Husak met in Prague Castle with Army General Dmitriy Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and defense minister, who is in Czechoslovakia on an official friendly visit.

Both statesmen agreed in noting that Czechoslovak-Soviet relations have reached a high level and that they are developing successfully in all spheres. At the same time, they positively assessed cooperation between the fraternal armies. They emphasized the importance of the peace initiatives by the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and other Warsaw Pact member states, and their efforts to create a climate of confidence and cooperation in Europe and internationally.

Holds Talks With Jakes

LD1105173289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Milos Jakes, general seceretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, today received Army General Dmitriy Yazov, the Soviet defense minister. The two representatives favor continuing efforts to strengthen security and confidence in Europe and throughout the world.

Dmitriy Yazov discussed the restructuring in the Soviet Army and on solving questions connected with the reorganization and reduction of the number of troops. In this connection he spoke highly of the exchange of experience during his talks with his Czechoslovak partners.

Milos Jakes briefed his guest on the tasks being tackled by the party in the preparatory period prior to its 18th congress. He also positive assessed the cooperation between the armies of the two states in ensuring the defensive capability of the socialist states.

Hanus Addresses Soviet Soldiers on Victory Day

AU1105181389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 May 89 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report]

[Text] Milovice—On the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet Union over Hitler's fascism, a ceremonial gathering of members of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in the CSSR took place on Monday [8 May] in Milovice.

A Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, CSSR Government, and CSSR National Front Central Committee delegation headed by Frantisek Hanus, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, took part in it. Other participants included a Czechoslovak People's Army delegation which was headed by Lieutenant General Milan Pavlicek. Colonel General Eduard Vorobyov, commander of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in the CSSR, made a speech at the gathering.

Frantisek Hanus also delivered a salutatory speech. In it he referred to the union of the celebration of Victory Day with the celebration of the anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army. He emphasized the significance of the friendship and alliance between both countries for the further prosperity of the socialist community.

Our society is going through a period of qualitative transitions in all spheres of life. Decisive steps have been effected toward developing comprehensive and profound restructuring first and foremost in the economy, in the political sphere, in ideological work, and in other sectors. Restructuring also links us with the other socialist countries. For us the recognition and utilization of the experiences of the CPSU has a primary significance. The same socialist aims unite us. Therefore, the entire orientation of restructuring in our society is directed toward the expansion and intensification of cooperation with the Soviet Union, said Frantisek Hanus.

Viktor Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR, was present at the ceremonial gathering.

Commentary Assesses Results of PZPR Conference

AU1105161389 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 10 May 89 p 2

[Ivan Drabek commentary: "Further!"]

[Text] At the 10th Congress of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] 2 and ½ years ago, one could hardly find even one delegate capable of predicting that the Central Committee elected by him would come around to such a change of principle in the political system, and that it would open to the opposition the road to seats in the Sejm and the Senate.

This thought appeared late last week in the Polish Communists' daily, in a commentary dedicated to the then beginning second PZPR national conference. TRYBUNA LUDU thereby aroused an even greater interest in the stand that this most competent PZPR forum in the period between party congresses would adopt concerning the ongoing process of revolutionary changes. After all, in line with the valid party statutes, the same delegates who had participated in the 10th congress received an invitation to the national conference. What was at issue, in other words, was the question of whether the assumption that the views of the party members are changing flexibly and at the same pace as those of the leadership, will be confirmed or refuted. In its aforesaid commentary, TRYBUNA LUDU predicted that along with voices approving the present line, criticism might also be

expressed, even criticism from two sides: "Some may want to entrench themselves in the present positions, under the slogan 'There have been enough changes,' while another group can be expected to recommend a retreat from all remaining strongholds." At the same time, the daily warned that "erecting new defensive walls and laying down arms can be equally dangerous for the party and for Poland as a whole."

The tense concern about the outcome of the national conference was not unfounded, even though the PZPR statutes do not provide a national conference with the equally extensive powers that we witnessed at similar forums of Soviet and Hungarian Communists last year. The ambivalent reaction within the party ranks to the proposal made at the 10th session of the PZPR Central Committee in January for reinstating trade union pluralism and introducing political pluralism in the country is still vivid in every Pole's memory. The plenum at first did not accept this scheme and changed its decision, under dramatic circumstances, only after First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski, Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, and some other members of the leadership's inner circle linked the question of their remaining at their posts with the fate of trade union and political pluralism.

Even in the following weeks when PZPR representatives, together with their allies, were seeking common language with representatives of the so-called constructive opposition at the roundtable, the internal party discussion on this momentous decision did not die down. Disagreements concerned, in particular, the assessment of the method in which this decision was reached. Critics were reproaching the Politburo for having failed to inform the membership base in advance about its intention and for not having given it an opportunity, prior to the session, to express its opinion on it. There were even cases of party members returning their party membership cards in protest against the legalization of the Solidarity trade union federation.

Naturally these disparate views on this complex development also surfaced at the session of the second PZPR national conference. In their contributions to the debate, many delegates indicated their fears about the future of the party and about its unity. Several speakers expressed the conviction that only the future will show whether the decision to start the dialogue with the opposition was correct. Warnings against the "sellout" of socialism in Poland were also heard. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the highest party representative, responded to these fears with the words that they must not be underrated, particularly if they are rooted in reality. At the same time, however, he emphasized that the time has come to part ways with that form and those institutions and practices of the system which have not stood the test of time, which have been overtaken by historical developments, and which have repeatedly, and at regular intervals, led the country and the party itself into dangerous crisis situations. It is better to allow everyday clashes of different opinions than to witness explosions of pent-up tension every couple of years. Following a sharp discussion, the delegates finally endorsed this view. They also approved the resolution of the breakthrough 10th session of the PZPR Central Committee and the results of the roundtable talks and gave their backing to the line of more radical economic reforms. The hopes of those dreaming about a possible split within the PZPR and about weakening the leading force of society were thus dashed. The Central Committee received from the membership base the mandate to continue along the embarked-upon path of transformations, and the party's unity was strengthened. On the eve of a serious political test, this result of the national conference assumes extraordinary importance. After all, in less than a month, the Poles will proceed to voting booths. Even though the seats in the Sejm had been shared out in advance at the roundtable, there will be a tough battle for seats in the newly established chamber of the parliament—the Senate.

Academy of Sciences Criticizes Nuclear Energy

AU0905113889 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 9 May 89 p 15

[APA report: "CSSR Secret Study Criticizes Nuclear Energy"]

[Text] Vienna—It has now become known for the first time that the CSSR nuclear development program has been officially criticized. In a secret paper passed on to the Austrian Students Union, the Prague Academy of Sciences has taken a detached view of the use of nuclear energy.

Despite "several new problems and emotional resistance by the citizens of some countries, nuclear energy research is continuing," it is stated in the study entitled "Prognosis of the CSSR's Social, Economic, and Scientific Development Through the Year 2000." However, the scientists do not expect that "new, better, and safer reactors will be in practical use" before this date.

The study ordered by the Prague government proposes solar energy as an alternative. If consistent economic guidelines were applied to production and consumption, there would be no international energy crisis in the next 20 to 30 years, it is stated. Therefore, the energy supply would not collapse without nuclear energy.

Honecker Says Elections Demonstrate Unity

LD1105144189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1232 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker today in Berlin characterized the electoral decision made by GDR citizens on 7 May as a convincing reflection of their faith in tried and trusted policies aimed at ensuring the well-being of the people, securing peace, and strengthening socialism.

Last Sunday 98.85 percent of around 12.3 million voters voted for the candidates nominated by the National Front.

At a Council of State session on the report by the Republic's Electoral Commission, the general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the Council of State, went on to say that what has been achieved in both town and country and what is to be achieved in the future—as laid down in the electoral appeal—was unanimously approved. Honecker stressed that the election results once more convincingly demonstrated the political and moral unity of the people of the GDR and the common ground between all parties and mass organizations working together in the National Front and other social forces. That should and will remain so in the future.

The Council of State also received a report on letters from citizens sent to the body during the election campaign. During the discussion, Erich Honecker described this input from citizens as a reflection of the comprehensive dialogue that has been held over the past weeks on basic issues of the GDR's internal and foreign policies and on local affairs in particular. Here too everything that could be achieved and what remains to be done was expressed. This is characteristic of socialist democracy in the GDR. The particularly intensive debate among citizens, their deputies, and state bodies is a sound foundation for removing obstacles in joint work and in mastering the tasks to come.

The report was approved. It will be conveyed to the Council of Ministers for information and assessment.

The chairman of the Republic's Electoral Commission, SED Politburo member Egon Krenz, stated in his report that the local elections were prepared and held on the basis of the election law and the resolutions passed by the Council of State on this. The principles established in the Constitution on holding elections were fulfilled. At the conclusion of its activities, the Republic's Electoral Commission determined the complete results of the elections and ordered that they be publicly announced.

The Council of State noted the electoral commission's report with approval. It thanked the Electoral Commission members and its chairman, Egon Krenz, for correctly preparing and carrying out the local elections. The Council of State expressed its best wishes to the newly elected deputies and reserve deputies in their future work.

The report presented by GDR Attorney General Guenter Wendland on the development and fight against crime was also approved and the conclusions emerging from this confirmed.

Provisional Election Results Published 8 May

AU1005204689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 May 89 p 2

[Text]

Provisional Results of the 7 May 1989 Elections to the 11 City District Assemblies of Berlin, Capital of the GDR

City district	Eligible to vote total	Votes cast total	Turnout percent	Invalid votes	
				absolute	percent
Berlin-Mitte	60,654	58,955	97.20	41	0.07
Berlin-Prenzlauer Berg	113,350	107,739	95.05	127	0.12
Berlin-Friedrichshain	88,492	85,377	96.48	113	0.13
Berlin-Marzahn	114,188	112,134	98.20	41	0.04
Berlin-Hohen-Schoenhausen	78,597	77,174	98.19	33	0.04
Berlin-Hellersdorf	59,775	58,609	98.05	53	0.09
Berlin-Treptow	89,212	87,579	98.17	57	0.07
Berlin-Koepenick	92,780	89,954	96.95	83	0.09
Berlin-Lichtenberg	143,767	140,216	97.53	57	0.04
Berlin-Weissensee	44,617	43,042	96.47	24	0.06
Berlin-Pankow	86,746	84,144	97.00	79	0.09

City district	Valid votes total		Valid votes for the election proposal		Valid votes against the election proposal	
	absolute	percent	absolute	percent	absolute	percent
Berlin-Mitte	58,914	99.93	57,923	98.32	991	1.68
Berlin-Prenzlauer Berg	107,612	99.98	105,614	98.14	1,998	1.86
Berlin-Friedrichshain	85,264	99.87	83,653	98.11	1,611	1.89
Berlin-Marzahn	112,093	99.96	111,272	99.27	821	0.73
Berlin-Hohen-Schoenhausen	77,141	99.96	76,399	99.04	742	0.96
Berlin-Hellersdorf	58,556	99.91	57,943	98.95	613	1.05
Berlin-Treptow	87,522	99.93	86,572	98.91	950	1.09
Berlin-Koepenick	89,871	99.91	88,465	98.44	1,406	1.56
Berlin-Lichtenberg	140,159	99.96	138,514	98.83	1,645	1.17
Berlin-Weissensee	43,018	99.94	42,007	97.65	1,011	2.35
Berlin-Pankow	84,065	99.91	82,888	98.60	1,177	1.40

Provisional Results of the 7 May 1989 Elections to the City

Assemblies of the 27 City Kreise

City kreis	Eligible to vote total	Votes cast total	Turnout percent	Invalid votes	
				absolute	percent
Cottbus-Stadt	93,892	92,859	98.90	98	0.11
Dresden-Stadt	398,291	389,565	97.81	987	0.25
Goerlitz-Stadt	58,041	56,346	97.08	90	0.16
Weimar-Stadt	49,159	48,186	98.02	63	0.13
Erfurt-Stadt	167,669	167,088	99.65	112	0.07
Frankfurt/Oder	61,883	61,419	99.25	74	0.12
Eisenhuettenstadt-Stadt	37,399	37,175	99.40	39	0.10
Schwedt/Oder	35,826	35,593	99.35	9	0.03
Gera-Stadt	99,535	98,998	99.46	53	0.05
Jena-Stadt	81,405	80,599	99.01	272	0.34
Dessau	77,500	77,050	99.42	8	0.01
Halle/Saale	184,255	182,304	98.94	96	0.05
Halle-Neustadt	63,305	63,148	99.75	19	0.03
Karl-Marx-Stadt-Stadt	238,672	233,751	97.94	95	0.04
Plauen-Stadt	59,721	58,598	98.12	42	0.07
Zwickau-Stadt	93,381	91,429	97.91	79	0.09
Leipzig-Stadt	414,154	407,273	98.34	189	0.05
Magdeburg	223,158	218,739	98.02	95	0.04
Neubrandenburg-Stadt	63,593	63,166	99.33	6	0.01
Brandenburg-Stadt	71,242	71,028	99.70	214	0.30
Potsdam-Stadt	108,319	107,474	99.22	860	0.80
Rostock-Stadt	192,638	190,429	98.85	103	0.05
Stralsund-Stadt	55,151	54,682	99.15	32	0.06
Wismar-Stadt	44,244	43,757	98.90	17	0.04
Greifswald-Stadt	48,348	47,922	99.12	20	0.04
Schwerin-Stadt	96,450	95,264	98.77	53	0.06
Suhl-Stadt	42,451	42,081	99.13	110	0.26

City district	valid votes total		valid votes for the election proposal		valid votes against the election proposal	
	absolute	percent	absolute	percent	absolute	percent
Cottbus-Stadt	92,761	99.89	92,201	99.40	560	0.60
Dresden-Stadt	388,578	99.75	378,827	97.49	9,751	2.51
Goerlitz-Stadt	56,256	99.84	54,580	97.02	1,676	2.98
Weimar-Stadt	48,123	99.87	47,086	97.85	1,037	2.15
Erfurt-Stadt	166,976	99.93	166,563	99.75	413	0.25
Frankfurt/Oder	61,345	99.88	59,188	96.48	2,157	3.52
Eisenhuettenstadt-Stadt	37,136	99.90	36,238	97.58	898	2.42
Schwedt/Oder	35,584	99.97	34,447	96.80	1,137	3.20
Gera-Stadt	98,945	99.95	97,499	98.54	1,446	1.46
Jena-Stadt	80,327	99.66	79,037	98.39	1,290	1.61
Dessau	77,042	99.99	76,853	99.75	189	0.25
Halle/Saale	182,208	99.95	180,026	98.80	2,182	1.20
Halle-Neustadt	63,129	99.97	62,813	99.50	316	0.50
Karl-Marx-Stadt-Stadt	233,656	99.96	226,936	97.12	6,720	2.88
Plauen-Stadt	58,556	99.93	56,319	96.18	2,237	3.82
Zwickau-Stadt	91,350	99.91	90,464	99.03	886	0.97
Leipzig-Stadt	407,084	99.95	393,564	96.68	13,520	3.32
Magdeburg	218,644	99.96	216,208	98.89	2,436	1.11
Neubrandenburg-Stadt	63,160	99.99	62,541	99.02	619	0.98
Brandenburg-Stadt	70,814	99.70	70,319	99.30	495	0.70
Potsdam-Stadt	106,614	99.20	105,015	98.50	1,599	1.50
Rostock-Stadt	190,326	99.95	189,178	99.40	1,148	0.60
Stralsund-Stadt	54,650	99.94	54,333	99.42	317	0.58
Wismar-Stadt	43,740	99.96	43,522	99.50	218	0.50
Greifswald-Stadt	47,902	99.96	47,440	99.04	462	0.96
Schwerin-Stadt	95,211	99.94	93,701	98.41	1,510	1.59
Suhl-Stadt	41,971	99.74	41,454	98.77	517	1.23

Election Commission Terms Results 'Impressive'

AU1105185189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 May 89 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Election Commission met for its concluding session in Berlin on Tuesday [9 May]. Commission chairman Egon Krenz said that the citizens' vote in the local elections on 7 May for the

candidates of the National Front are an impressive ascertainment of loyalty to the policy oriented toward peace and socialism that is pursued by the worker class party and the socialist worker-peasant state. He said that it reflects the firm alliance of all social forces united in the National Front and at the same time expresses the voters' will to actively cooperate in the further shaping of the developed socialist society.

At its meeting, the GDR Election Commission examined the final reports of the Berlin city district election commissions and the Kreis election commissions as well as the other documents handed over to it, and made sure that the elections were carried out correctly and on the basis of the relevant legal provisions.

With the exception of two candidates appointed to local representations in the Gera and Suhl Bezirks, all 273,462 candidates appointed obtained the majority of votes and were elected, as demanded by the election law.

Egon Krenz stated that the local elections were prepared and implemented on the basis of the Constitution, the election law, and the relevant resolutions adopted by the State Council.

In conclusion of its work, the GDR Election Commission established the combined results of the elections of the Berlin city bezirk assemblies, the Kreis assemblies and the assemblies of city kreises, as well as the city bezirk assemblies, the city assemblies of Kreis cities and municipal representations, and ordered the publication of the election results.

In the discussion, Erwin Binder, Presidium member and secretary of the executive board of the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany; Hans-Dieter Raspe, deputy chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany; Wolfgang Heyl, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany; Kurt Zahn, presidium member and secretary of the National Executive Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation; as well as Guenter Hartmann, deputy chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany, took the floor.

Politburo Statement on Honecker-Jakes Meeting

AU1105185689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 May 89 p 1

["Statement by the SED Central Committee Politburo: Militant Community Between the SED and the CPCZ and Between the GDR and the CSSR Has Been Further Deepened; On the Results of the Meeting of Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SED Central Committee and Chairman of the GDR State Council, and Milos Jakes, General Secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee"]

[Text] East Berlin (ND)—On 9 May 1989 the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] accepted the report on the meeting of Comrade Erich HOnecker with Comrade Milos Jakes. It was noted with great satisfaction that the qualitative expansion of overall cooperation, which had been suggested at the previous meeting in March 1988, has already yielded visible results. Comrade Erich Honecker's working visit to Prague on 3 May 1989 has created very favorable conditions for further deepening the traditional militant community of the two parties, the socialist alliance of the two states, and the deeply rooted friendship between their peoples.

In this connection, it is of special importance that the youth foundation of the GDR and the CSSR has established the framework for a qualitatively higher level of cooperation between the young and their socialist youth organizations, which is now to be fleshed out with energy and initiative by the young. The Free German Youth, the responsible state organs, and the other social organs are expected to engage in their own purposeful activities on this basis.

The extensive talks between the two general secretaries on a wide range of domestic and foreign policy issues again affirmed the agreement of the SED and the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] and of the GDR and the CSSR on all basic questions in the current stage of development in the struggle for peace and socialism.

The leading representatives of the two countries stressed that, in close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist states, the GDR and the CSSR, which are located at the dividing line between the two world systems, will intensify their activities to safeguard peace, to continue the disarmament process, and to strengthen trust and peaceful cooperation between the states and people of Europe. Both Marxist-Leninist parties let themselves be guided by the fact that a policy that focuses on the welfare of the citizens in its efforts to increase the economic capacity decisively contributes to ensuring the international attractiveness of socialism.

The SED Central Committee Politburo stressed that the great possibilities of socialist cooperation between the GDR and the CSSR can be used even more efficiently to solve tasks that both countries are facing. The comprehensive direct relations that have developed between party organizations, state organs, social forces, and work collectives have become a valuable source of the exchange of views and are making a great contribution to the mutually beneficial cooperation between the two neighboring countries.

The meeting of Comrades Erich Honecker and Milos Jakes was assessed as having been imbued with the spirit of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the GDR and the CSSR; this meeting has considerably contributed to further developing this treaty in the interest of strengthening socialism and safeguarding peace in Europe.

Honecker Greets Swedish Communist Workers Party
AU1005161789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6-7 May 89 p 5

[Text] Stockholm (ND dispatch)—On Friday [5 May], Politburo candidate member Heinz Hanns, head of the delegation of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], conveyed fraternal militant greetings of the GDR Communists to the 29th Congress of the Swedish Communist Workers Party. He presented a greetings address by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee.

The head of the SED delegation stressed that firm class solidarity in the struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress has always characterized the relations between the German and the Swedish Communists. Today it is the duty of all Communists in the world to determine the concrete roads for implementing the noble goals under the often novel militant conditions, and to seek modern answers to the vital questions that mankind is facing.

Honecker Greets Swedish Party Head on Reelection
AU1105181589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 May 89 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ND)—The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] sent the following congratulatory telegram, signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker, to Rolf Hagel, chairman of the Communist Workers Party of Sweden:

Dear Comrade Rolf Hagel!

On behalf of the SED Central Committee and on my own behalf, I congratulate you cordially on your reelection as chairman of the Communist Workers Party.

I wish you good health and creativity as well as success in your responsible work.

With communist greetings
SED Central Committee
E Honecker
General Secretary

People's Chamber Session To Convene 8 Jun
AU1105165089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 May 89 p 1

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Tuesday [9 May] the People's Chamber Presidium set the convening of the ninth People's Chamber session for 8 June 1989 at 1000 in Berlin.

At the session, which was chaired by Horst Sindermann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and president of the GDR People's Chamber, the proposal for the agenda was approved. It envisages a statement by the supreme people's representative body on the implementation of the agreements of the CSCE process. In addition, the 1988 budget report—revenues and expenditures of the state budget in implementing last year's plan—will be discussed.

In addition, the session will deal with laws on consular treaties between the GDR and the Republic of Sudan and between the GDR and the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, as well as a law on the treaty with the CSSR on legal aid in civilian cases, cases referring to family affairs, and crimes.

NATO Missile Modernization Plans Criticized
AU1105085889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 May 89 p 2

["G.P." article: "Only the Tip of the Iceberg?"]

[Text] In the run-up to the Brussels summit, politicians are busy paying visits to the capitals of the NATO states. On the surface these "consultations" are dealing with the question of whether NATO should "modernize" the Lance short-range nuclear missiles that are deployed in the FRG, that is to say, replace them with nuclear missiles whose range is four times greater, or whether NATO should agree to the negotiations offered by the Warsaw Pact states on a step-by-step reduction of those missiles that are not included in the INF Treaty. Washington and London are pressing for an early deployment and reject any plans of a third zero-option, while Bonn is trying to delay its agreement to the stationing of new first-strike weapons on FRG territory at least until 1991-92. The time that one gains should be used for negotiations on step-by-step reductions of tactical nuclear weapons with a range under 500 km.

It is therefore all the more surprising to read in the latest issue of the Hamburg magazine STERN that the deployment "has already been decided. The chairman of the NATO Military Committee, General Wolfgang Altenburg, in a technical journal disclosed that Bonn has already agreed to it." Is somebody trying to stealthily create a situation in which the facts have already been established?

The public is to be left in the dark about it, as it is to be left in the dark about the fact that the "modernization" of Lance missiles is only the tip of the iceberg. Referring to a secret study worked out by the Bundeswehr leadership, STERN noted "that the new short-range missiles are only part of a gigantic armament program of the West." This program involves "almost the entire range of nuclear weapons and their launching systems" and ranges from the development of the new "Midgetman" intercontinental missile and the "Stealth" strategic bomber to modifying the nuclear-powered submarines so that they can carry D5 missiles, and even equipping the B-52 bomber with wide-range cruise missiles.

Considering the plausible proposals of the Warsaw Pact, NATO's arms race can hardly be attributed to a "lacking readiness on the part of the East." This arms race does not only "flatly contradict all political formulas of cooperative or mutual security," as FRG Rear Admiral Schmaehling put it, but even denies the peoples' desire to have all these hellish nuclear devices sent to hell.

National Assembly Debates, Session Continue

Nemeth Holds News Conference

LD1005163489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1345 GMT 10 May 89

[International news conference with Premier Miklos Nemeth held during recess of Hungarian National Assembly session in Budapest, with correspondent Andras Domany—live]

[Excerpts] [Domany] The international news conference has already started here. Premier Miklos Nemeth briefly introduced the new ministers. All six of them are here, and they are answering questions about their first tasks. First we will hear new Minister of Industry Ferenc Horvath. [passage omitted]

The new minister of agriculture and food is Dr Csaba Hutter. [passage omitted]

[Eckroyd] Sally Eckroyd for THE TIMES. A question for Mr Nemeth: If you had been a member of parliament last October, would you have voted for Bos-Nagymaros or against it? And a second question: Given that you praised the move away from a party state, do you believe the government would make a better negotiating partner with the opposition, a more suitable negotiating partner with the opposition, than would the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]?

[Nemeth] I would like to correct your question. I was already then a member of parliament, and I voted for the continued construction of Bos-Nagymaros. The government has by now discussed the issue at least four times, and as far as I can see in the foreseeable future, the government will discuss it at least two more times before it comes before parliament. I can repeat what I said in parliament: Carefully considering every factor, we would like to stand with a clear conscience before parliament and the country on this issue. Do not ask me to give my opinion in advance because it is now being formed. I would not be acting correctly vis-a-vis either the government members or the partners. One thing is certain no matter what emerges from the assessment: As for continued construction or halting it—I give the latter just as great a chance as I do continued construction—I would like to report about our decision so that afterwards I will sleep just as well as during the short 4 hours before.

The situation today in the country is not yet of a coalition nature, no matter how much I personally would have liked to realize such an endeavors. It is very essential that the discussions between the parties being formed, or the parties and the MSZMP, should not take place over the heads of the people, not against the people, but rather in the country's interest should lead to results as quickly as possible. The government is committed to the path of realizing the reforms, and it is its elemental, basic duty to guarantee the political, legal, institutional, and material conditions for this. When the time comes for the government to join in this work, then we will meet this requirement. It is not possible today, however, to swap the government for the parties.

[Laszlo Kasza] Mr Premier, this morning you said in parliament that you will give this government about 1 year before the next elections. At the same time you held out the prospect that in the fall you will submit a 3-year action program. Who will implement this?

[Announcer] That question was asked by Laszlo Kasza, staff member of Radio Free Europe.

[Nemeth] I trust, and this is in the country's interest as well, that we will work on the basis of a concrete, phased, and controllable program. Thus far the government's efforts and intentions are independent of when the elections will be and what results they will bring. I trust that the reform forces within the MSZMP, which are becoming ever stronger, will be able to create such a situation in the country and will have such a basis at their means, and that in spite of the doubtless existing disadvantages and burdensome legacies, the MSZMP will clear away the obstacles to have a chance of winning, or at least a chance of being capable of having a coalition.

If there will be a new government, in accordance with the new elections, it will have the right to set aside our program and to act in accordance with its own wishes. Today, however, my duty is this: Keeping the country's interests in mind, I should stand before the people with an action program that is suited to the new situation.

I can hear it whispered that they trust I will form the next government as well. [passage omitted]

[Forro] Tamas Forro, Hungarian radio. Mr Premier, is this government fully your government or can further personnel changes be expected? Of the new ministers, will anyone become a cabinet member? Third, in your opinion, will we in the coming years often participate in meetings such as this one?

[Nemeth] Let me start with the third question. I would like such meetings to be held as often as possible. [passage omitted] As for the cabinet, it has a core but any member of the government whose topic is discussed is present and participates in the decision process. The cabinet does not make decisions but only prepares them.

I do not consider the government reshuffle something that has been concluded. I touched on various aspects of the transformation of the organizational structure in my speech today; we will be ready by the end of this year and then, if I am still premier, I will obviously come forward with considered proposals.

[Karacs] Imre Karacs, THE INDEPENDENT. A few weeks ago there was a disagreement between Karoly Nemeth and Karoly Grosz—I beg your pardon, Miklos

Nemeth and Karoly Grosz—on the need to introduce an economic state of emergency. I would like to ask if this debate is over and what your relations are like with the party general secretary.

[Nemeth] In Hungary it is still unusual for leaders to disagree in public. Both Hungarians and foreigners will get used to it, for this is how it should be, and just because there is a debate between the leaders on one or more issues there is no need to look for a split or anger or conflicts. This is the natural consequence of the nature of the work and of human nature. I, as a member of the MSZMP Politburo, have a regular working relationship with the party general secretary, but as I have indicated, the operative direction of the government by the Central Committee Politburo has ceased. This is where I think the essence lies: The government is becoming a decision-making and policymaking center, and the head of government or any minister must bear it when he is criticized by the ranks of his own party. At the same time, the reverse is also true.

That was an unfortunate interview containing several misunderstandings; I do not welcome it, I did not welcome it at the time, either, and we seek to not lead this country into either a political or an economic state of emergency. On the contrary, it is this that we have to avoid, and there is scope for this. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] Does Comrade Nemeth see a danger of becoming involved in a power struggle and perhaps becoming its victim?

[Nemeth] Well, if I fall asleep I could get involved in such a thing, but I try to remain vigilant. [passage omitted]

Session Resumes 11 May

LD1105105789 Budapest MTI in English 1002 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 11 (MTI)—The session of the National Assembly resumed its work at 9 am on Thursday [11 May].

In accordance with the agenda, Kalman Kulcsar, minister of justice, submitted a proposal on the modification of a 1959 provision of the civil code, regulating the degree of default interest. The proposal was unanimously accepted with 5 abstentions.

Then, Mrs Edit Bodo, MP for Csongrad County, tabled a private motion on the modification of certain sections of the electoral law. In the course of the past decades, it has been unprecedented for an MP to give an exposition of his or her own proposal for modifying a law.

The next item on the agenda was the unanimous repeal of a 1953 law aimed to preserve the memory of Stalin.

The written report on the activity of the Presidential Council since July 1, 1985, was also accepted without debate.

Then, MPs proceeded to hear a report by State Secretary Gabor Deak, president of the State Office for Youth and Sport (AISH), on the implementation of the youth law.

Law on Youth Debated

LD1105224289 Budapest MTI in English 1946 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 11 (MTI)—On Thursday [11 May] in Budapest, the debate of the National Assembly session on the enforcing of the Law on Youth was addressed by 26 MPs. Secretary of State Gabor Deak then answered the contributions. The youth and sports committee of parliament then formulated a resolution proposal on the further tasks. Parliament approved the proposal, in which one of the most important points was that the government should take the contributions into consideration when working out its three-year work programme.

The approval ended the second workday of the session. Parliament is to continue its work on Friday with interpellations and questions.

Session Resumes 12 May

LD1205083289 Budapest MTI in English 0730 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 12 (MTI)—The May session of parliament resumed its work with interpellations on Friday. Budapest MP Bela Szalai started the ball rolling by drawing [out] the minister of justice on the modification of the penal code and the abolition of capital punishment.

Medgyessy Discusses Government Economic Program

AU1105073189 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 6 May 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy by Andras Szigethy: "What Will the New Government Program Be Like?"; date, place not given]

[Text] [Szigethy] The new government will present a new program to parliament. What will give this program authenticity, for the public has lately had more than enough of various programs and unfulfilled promises?

[Medgyessy] I think that the new program will be authentic primarily because it will not be an apparatus-oriented program and one disconnected from reality. The new program will emerge through debates, and it will consider not only the opinions of government advisory bodies, experts, and committees, but also the opinions of the alternative organizations. Personally, I find the rather high-standard ideas of the Association of Free Democrats most attractive. This program could also become authentic because the government will submit it

to professional control and publicity. In addition, the views that are taking shape will focus on adequately discovering the historical background and circumstances of the prevailing situation. Only this will clarify the areas in which we can think and act. This activity of discovering is also absolutely essential because we should finally decide on the things with which the government can identify itself and the things that the government can no longer accept. I think that we must accept as a heritage the economic policy elements that are based not only on interests but also on constraint.

[Szigethy] In the wake of the analyses carried out so far, what does the government consider acceptable in the future, and what does it consider unacceptable?

[Medgyessy] We have only some results of these analyses, but we can already see that the investment policy that led to wasting our foreign credits and which made it extremely difficult to lay the foundations of economic development can no longer continue. A more thorough revision is needed concerning the connection between our domestic budget deficit and our foreign debts. One should see more clearly the way these two factors are connected and the way they confine each other.

[Szigethy] Will the new government be aware of the things it has inherited, the things it has to face, and the tasks it must take upon itself?

[Medgyessy] Although the aforementioned activity of discovery and analysis under way in various workshops has not yet been concluded, the economic and social heritage can be clearly formulated. We are aware of our debts, and I mean by this not only our financial debts but also our debts toward future generations.

The Root of the Problems

[Szigethy] What is the most difficult thing to overcome?

[Medgyessy] The Hungarian economy has been struggling with a crisis for at least 1 decade. Between 1985 and 1987, as a result of an economic policy based on the illusion of an easy and conflict-free way out of the prevailing crisis, Hungary's debt doubled. As a result, great social sacrifices were needed not only to achieve economic development but also to avoid a deterioration of the situation and to preserve Hungary's foreign solvency. Following a short 1-and- ½ or 2-year phase, the so-called dynamization program adopted by the 13th party congress brought the country to the brink of collapse. The unfounded acceleration lacking a structural change was also already attractive in this period, and not only to the prevailing political leadership. The prevailing trade union leadership that claimed to represent the employees' interests but which was acting in contradiction to this aim drove the economic policy in this direction. Instead of accelerating production and exports, we accelerated consumption and investments way beyond our means. This led to early and bitter disappointment. Vivid memories of this disappointment prevent us from again following an economic policy that has already failed, an economic policy that was not thoroughly considered and which is being increasingly demanded today. The government measures of reducing the standard of living, measures that have been followed since 1988, are precisely the bitter consequences of this economic policy based on an unfounded domestic market.

[Szigethy] The government program of 1987 was essentially created to halt these processes. What were the results of this?

[Medgyessy] This program set out to again accelerate the reform of institutions and to return to the long-forgotten spirit of 1968. This way we succeeded in avoiding the direct dangers, but only by means of serious social losses, inflation, an almost 10-percent drop in real wages, and some unemployment. This was an extremely complex and difficult process because we also had to accept the real danger of discrediting the reform measures in order to avoid insolvency, the development of uncontrolled and rampant inflation, the growth of shortages, and the collapse of the market. Unfortunately, we did not come closer to the often mentioned structural change and to a lasting foundation for a way out of this crisis.

[Szigethy] In the course of this activity of discovery and analysis, what, in your opinion, is the root of our problems?

[Medgyessy] The essence of the prevailing socialism has always been created precisely by institutions and organizational solutions that ensured an almost unlimited ability for the central management to shape society and regroup economic resources. Or, if not all this, at least the illusion of it. All this is based on a one-party system, and the essence of this system is not that there is only one party in the political arena, but the fact that this party—which is not a movement—has the monopoly over power by monopolizing the state. This system ensures the overwhelming predominance of state property, and this gives the party and the state the opportunity to exercise almost unlimited interference in the economy. The closing of almost all forms of citizen initiatives and the exaggerated monopolization of the economy make producers comfortable and consumers dependent. This led to the servilism, obscurity, and hypocrisy that characterized not only relations between the state and enterprises but also relations between the state and citizens. This way, illusions became laws, illusions according to which the bureaucratic party and state guiding apparatuses have the ability to reorganize relations in society in an almost unlimited way. The lack of social control made it possible, and the conflict-postponing nature of our policy and economic policy made it necessary, to constantly seal the public off from real information concerning our economic and social situation.

[Szigethy] To what extent has the situation changed lately?

[Medgyessy] A lot of things have changed. I could list them in detail but it is not my goal to always enumerate the results just for the sake of stocktaking. For example, it is true that our economy today is not such a shortage economy as it used to be a few decades ago. Despite this achievement, the conservative rules and forms of behavior characteristic of a monopolistic order have survived and have currently become the main obstacles hindering development. Practical models show that only nations with a political pluralism that guarantees a clear and reliable change of direction are able to adjust quickly and radically to world economic changes, and not without conflicts, either. Proof of this are the mixed economies based on individual renewal.

[Szigethy] Are we capable of such a change?

[Medgyessy] The favorable international political atmosphere and, last but not least, the prestige that Hungary achieved with its reform policy and the recently accelerated reform process, all have opened up the way to formulating a far-reaching program. This undoubtedly should be a program that discards previous political illusions, which formulates only realistic promises by providing tangible prospects, and which can also guarantee these promises—a program that society can also supervise in detail.

Radical Changes

[Szigethy] From what should, then, the new government distance itself?

[Medgyessy] The new government should distance itself not only from the economic policy of the seventies, but also from promises that are impossible to keep and threats that cause panic. I am fully aware of the fact that Hungarian society will only support a program that has tangible guarantees.

[Szigethy] For example, the government has repeatedly decided to eliminate loss-making enterprises and to stop supporting and financing such enterprises. But to this day this decision has not been carried out.

[Medgyessy] We are now doing away with this practice, and all the more so because, so far, short-term balance-improving goals in our economic policy have almost imperceptibly suppressed the long-term interests of structural reorganization.

[Szigethy] However, radical changes also require uncomfortable and unpleasant tasks. Have you considered these unpleasant facts?

[Medgyessy] Yes, we are aware that we cannot create conditions that would reduce the burden on the entire society or on a part of our society in the near future, meaning socially unfavorable burdens that accompany economic restructuring. Unfortunately, it is not true that we can reduce the burdens on the majority of our population by carrying out government savings, reducing military or administrative spending, reducing international investments, and by eliminating the privileges and advantages that protected inefficient, large-scale enterprises. Of course, all these programs are necessary, but their positive effects will emerge only in a few years' time, because every step has a price, and the effects of every step need time. We must also accept the fact that complete social consensus cannot be created by even the most rational program. We should strive to gain the understanding of the majority of our society.

[Szigethy] The key to all this is our ability to provide adequate resources for our society and our economic and social policy. We know that this requires a market economy. Are there still ideological dissimilarities in this respect?

[Medgyessy] For the success of our efforts aimed at creating an efficient market truly capable of organizing our economy, we must acknowledge the fact that there is no socialist or capitalist market economy. The market is independent of any social order. There is a traditional market, a market that does not basically work on the principle of capital returns and is not organized on the basis of the rational management of assets, a market where the given production processes and profiles can basically be regarded as hardly being changeable.

On the other hand, there is also a modern market economy influenced by other factors and interest motives. This is an open market economy, not a local or national market economy, which is increasingly less divided by national boundaries and protectionist measures. The isolated "border fortress" integrations can no longer provide protection from the revolutionary changes that are under way in the world, while, unfortunately, these integrations are suitable for temporarily providing the illusion of stability by permitting one to avoid looking into the mirror, and for making the road of provincialism and economic stagnation peaceful and trouble-free.

A Functioning Market

[Szigethy] The mass media and almost every official economic policy declaration have for a long time been full of the need for a market, but the market does not function.

[Medgyessy] An autonomy guaranteed by property relations is essential for the functioning of the market. The regulations and the law should limit not only the enterprises but also the state, namely the state's guiding apparatus and the party organizations that have so far been in control of cadre work. All limitations of economic activity that are alien to the market and are based on administrative means, informal interference, and on special privileges should cease. Despite reluctance on the part of many people, money and the regulating role of liquidity should replace limitations that are alien to the logic of the market. The exaggerated bureaucratic regulation of the economy

and the banning of ventures from broad areas of the economy should stop—for example, from the areas of education, health, and culture where, naturally, nonmarket distribution continues to predominate.

[Szigethy] One can often hear today that we exaggerated the nationalization process in 1948, and it was easy to carry this out with the government measures at that time; today, however, it is extremely difficult to rationally restore the desirable situation.

[Medgyessy] Carrying out the ownership reform in practice is a much more complex task than the nationalization and expropriation we once carried out. First of all, we should create organizations that are able to function as owners interested in capital and which are suitable for rationally investing funds saved by households, as well as for managing property. Today there are hardly any such institutions. We will have to work out a system of financial brokerage; and asset banks [vagyonpenztarak], banks, monetary institutions, pension funds, investment corporations, and even agencies will have to be set up.

[Szigethy] Indeed, all these are extremely important elements of an economy that functions effectively, but the main question remains whether the government is able to accelerate real ventures.

[Medgyessy] The more progress we are able to make in eliminating the obvious decades-old sources of losses, the more opportunities we will have to ease the unilateral financial and administrative limitations. Therefore, a radical reduction in budget redistribution is required not only by a unilateral fiscal way of thinking, but also by the need to increase the scope of economic activity. This justifies the government's desire to restore the budget balance by reducing spending, rather than by increasing budget income and taxes, as was the practice before.

The strict limitation of the Armed Forces and of the central state management institutions, as well as the strict reduction of enterprise subsidies play the main role in this. I am aware that in spite of the sympathetic reception by the public, the reduction of these subsidies can also cause unemployment, enterprise bankruptcy, and inflation. But these measures give the government greater scope, and the budget policy will encourage ventures, savings, and small entrepreneurs.

It should also be clear that in many cases, state ownership is nothing but a bureaucratic and large central apparatus whose expenses are paid by consumers. Therefore, restoring private ownership is one of the major means of accelerating private ventures, and this has now come to the fore in view of the reform of ownership relations.

[Szigethy] With all these efforts, however, Hungary has to stand its ground in the international competition for creditworthiness.

[Medgyessy] The outlined economic policy requires, and even makes it essential, that Hungary maintain its international solvency by all means, for this economic policy considers it irresponsible to even consider the possibility of rescheduling our debts. A convertible forint would provide some sort of a guarantee to our creditors. This would confirm everyone's belief that we are serious about our reforms and that we will also carry them out. If we want to make the forint convertible in the short period of 2 to 4 years, we will have to work out a program to do this and submit it to parliament. This requires a correct agreement with society and, last but not least, with the IMF, because making the forint convertible is also accompanied by far-reaching changes.

Cooperation of Alternatives

[Szigethy] You mentioned that the new government program also required the cooperation of alternative organizations. Will the alternative organizations receive the essential economic information that the government and its functional bodies naturally work with?

[Medgyessy] The government received it as a proposal, and even as a request to make it possible for the alternative organizations and the emerging parties to have free and regular access to the data supplied by the Central Statistical Office. We consider this request as completely justified and natural, and thus we gladly fulfill it.

[Szigethy] In conclusion, let me ask you whether the new government will be strong enough to implement its own program.

[Medgyessy] For this, the government needs an identity with and a background of legitimacy. In this respect, the situation has seriously deteriorated in recent months. It is essential that the government's activity should be supervised by a parliament that fully enjoys the people's confidence, and that in this parliament, the government should be able to rely on a majority party that has a clear and firm program supported by the majority of our nation.

Serial Interview With Janos Kadar Begins

LD1105221189 Budapest MTI in English 1404 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 11 (MTI)—The weekly "MAGYARORSZAG" (Hungary) has started running a series of interviews with Janos Kadar

By way of introduction, Mr Kadar says that he has not given interviews until now because of his illness. "I felt I'd better not remain silent any longer, because my reticence was misunderstood, and even misinterpreted, by many," he said.

In connection with his state of health, Mr Kadar said that last autumn, the thumb and forefinger of his right hand had become paralysed and, despite a slight improvement after surgery, he was still unable to write

and grasp things with it. "I also suffer from many other disorders, which either go hand in hand with my age, or are mementos of the years I spent underground and in prison. I can hardly breathe, and have to cope with the side-effects of the numerous drugs I have to take.... My doctors allow me to work for a short period once or twice a week," he said.

Mr Kadar recalls his first meeting with Matyas Rakosi in 1934 in Star Prison, Szeged. After 1945 he had a close working relationship with Rakosi, first as head of the party's cadre department, and later as Budapest secretary and deputy general secretary of the party. "Although no genuine human relationship developed between us, I trusted him right until the beginning of the Rajk affair."

The first time Janos Kadar learnt about the accusations brought against Rajk was at a party meeting, where he was informed, on the basis of military intelligence, that during the war there had been a relief organization in Switzerland which supported the communists, but which, in fact, operated under the auspices of the U.S. secret service. Tibor Szonyi, the first to be arrested, admitted during interrogation that when he was asked about whom he could rely on after returning home, he named Laszlo Rajk.

There followed a conversation of 'depressed atmosphere' in Rakosi's cottage in the attendance of Mihaly Farkas, Erno Gero and Jozsef Revai. Rakosi said that Laszlo Rajk, then minister of the interior, was hampering the work of the state defence authority (AVH). This accusation, Mr Kadar says, came from AVH's leader, Gabor Peter, who had even mentioned it previously. Although the idea of arrest did not come up that time, Rakosi thought it would have been better for Rajk to change his post at the Interior Ministry for that of foreign minister. The idea that Kadar take over as minister of the interior came up only later. The change took place on August 5, 1948. Gabor Peter did not confide in Kadar, either.

Rajk was arrested by Peter whilst at home with his family, Mr Kadar says. Mrs Rajk went public with this only much later.

Mr Kadar definitely refutes the story that he played an important part in the Rajk trial or that he persuaded Rajk to confess. He also denies the allegation that the members of the Political Committee had to sign the death sentences.

Interviewer: 'With Matyas Rakosi at the head, you and Mihaly Farkas were in control of the Rajk case'.

A: "I joined the committee as a member of the Political Committee and the Secretariat and minister of the interior. As far as I can remember, the central leadership discussed the affair on two occasion and passed a decision after Rakosi's presentation."

This is how the first installment of the interview series concludes.

(The second part will follow in a week's time.)

Budapest 'Reform Circle' Urges Personnel Changes

LD1105212289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] The Budapest reform circle of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] urges further personnel changes in the party leadership. It says that the consequences have to be drawn concerning the policy pursued in the past decade and a half, which got the country into this state of crisis. Gyorgy Aczel, Laszlo Marothy, and Istvan Sarlos should immediately be relieved of all their party duties, says the statement by the Budapest reform communists.

The Budapest reform circle of the MSZMP considers Janos Kadar's being relieved of his Central Committee membership and from his post of party chairman as a decision of primarily political motivation and weight. At the same time, in its statement the circle adds that this decision was made too late, noting that the justification provided for it means that it cannot fulfill its real function of political clarification, the declaration of a break with the mistakes and sins of the past.

Demonstration Protests Russian Language Courses

LD1105174489 Budapest MTI in English 1555 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 11 (MTI)—The Republican Circle organized a demonstration on Thursday [11 May] in front of the Ministry of Culture and Education, and demanded the radical reform of the education system, and the abolition of ideological education and the compulsory teaching of the Russian language from the 1989/90 school-year.

Education, within this world outlook instruction and language teaching in schools, is in a prominent position with respect to the crisis branches of Hungary. It is anachronistic politically, violates the self-esteem of the nation, and causes immeasurable moral and economic damage that special treatment is given to Marxist ideology and Russian language teaching to the detriment of the teaching of other subjects, including the mother language, runs the appeal.

Liberal International Delegation Begins Visit

'No Return' to Former Model

LD0805224389 Budapest MTI in English 1903 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 8 (MTI)—There is no way of returning to the former model in Hungary, although it is expected, in view of historical experience, that the course of development will not be unbroken, Matyas Szuros,

president of the Hungarian National Assembly, stated during talks with the visiting delegation from the Liberal International on Monday [8 May].

Hungary's current situation is unique insofar as a socialist country is attempting to switch over from a one-party to a multi-party system. History abounds in examples of transition from dictatorship to democracy, but provides neither example nor experience for the former transition.

Mr Szuros said it was extremely important to set up the Hungarian social model on the basis of local conditions. He added that the experience of other nations could also be utilized, and mentioned the Finnish, Swedish and Austrian socio-economic models as examples.

The Liberal International delegation also met Geza Kilenyi, deputy minister of justice.

Pozsgay Receives Delegation

AU0905221789 Budapest MTI in English
2136 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 9 (MTI)—Imre Pozsgay, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and minister of state, received on Tuesday [9 May] the delegation from the Liberal International currently visiting Budapest.

Mr Pozsgay briefed the delegation about the Hungarian political processes, the reform of the Constitution and the elections.

During the day, the members of the Liberal International delegation met with representatives of several alternative organizations. They held talks with representatives of the Independent Smallholders' Party, the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), and the Social Democratic Party of Hungary.

The president of Liberal International, Senator Giovanni Malagodi of Italy, who is heading the delegation, termed as premature the question of whether Hungary could become a member of the International in the not too distant future. According to information received from the members of the delegation, there might be a possibility for one or other organization to attend the next congress of the international organization, scheduled to be held in Paris in October, as an observer.

Reception Marks Israeli National Day

AU1005183789 Budapest MTI in English
1540 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 10 (MTI)—To mark the National Day of Israel, Slomo Marom, head of the Israeli interest representation office in Budapest, gave a reception in the Intercontinental Hotel on Wednesday [10 May].

The event was attended by Andras Derzsi, minister of transport, telecommunication and construction, Ivan Berend, president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Imre Gellai, deputy minister of trade, Laszlo Kovacs, deputy minister of foreign affairs, Andras Patko, deputy minister of finance, and several other noted personalities of Hungarian public life. The Budapest diplomatic corps was also represented.

Netherlands Trade Minister Discusses Ties

AU1005203189 Budapest MTI in English
1957 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 10 (MTI)—Yvonne van Rooy, minister of foreign trade of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, currently visiting Budapest on the invitation of Minister of Trade Tamas Beck, held a press conference on Wednesday [10 May] in Budapest. She said that the Netherlands delivered goods worth 160 million dollars to Hungary in 1988, and imported goods valued at 121 million dollars. The Netherlands is ready to import more goods from Hungary, to equalize the balance, and related talks are currently in progress. Minister van Rooy holds it important to expand Hungarian-Dutch relations, including bilateral trade, licence and know-how turnover, and the setting up of joint ventures. There are plans to augment the present ten Hungarian-Dutch joint companies operating in the country.

It was also stated at the press conference that the Benelux states have set down quantitative restrictions for the delivery of some 40 products to Hungary. They are now seeking the solution to how this prohibition could be lifted before the prescribed deadline.

Straub Honors Italian Anti-Fascist Fighter

LD0405165889 Budapest MTI in English
1429 GMT 4 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 4 (MTI)—Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, met Giorgio Perlasca, an Italian anti-fascist resistance fighter, in Budapest on Thursday [4 May]. Mr Perlasca is visiting Hungary at the invitation of the Federation of Resistance Fighters and Anti-Fascists.

As reported earlier, late last year the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic awarded the Order of Star decorated with a golden wreath of the Hungarian People's Republic to Mr Perlasca in recognition of his bravery in the Hungarian anti-fascist movement. As Mr Perlasca was unable to visit Hungary because of ill health, the decoration was handed over to him by the ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to Italy.

In a cordial atmosphere, Mr Straub appreciated the actions of Giorgio Perlasca in the service of people who were persecuted during the Second World War.

Foreign Trade in 1st Quarter Detailed

AU1005153189 Budapest MTI in English 1243 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 10, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—In the first quarter of the year Hungarian exports amounted to 104.1 billion forints (deliveries computed [due to the] Hungarian border), 14 per cent more than in the corresponding period of 1988. Imports at 100.4 billion forints was 11.6 per cent more than a year earlier, a recent report of the Ministry of Trade says.

At the end of the first quarter, the total of rouble export contracts amounted to 6.036 billion roubles, 2.6 per cent less than in the corresponding period last year, and import contracts at 5.717 billion roubles were 12.8 per cent less in value than a year earlier.

Thanks mainly to growing Hungarian machinery sales, the rouble trade surplus was 107.1 million in the period under survey, as compared with 77 million in the corresponding period of 1988.

Rouble surplus saw a striking 10.8 per cent rise in March over March 1988, while imports decreased by 7.8 per cent.

Hard currency export contracts valued 4.322 billion dollars in the first quarter, 2.4 per cent more than last year, and import contracts at 3.033 billion dollars stood 12.3 per cent higher than in the March quarter of 1988.

Hard currency exports grew by 2 per cent and imports decreased by 0.2 per cent. There was a trade surplus of 9.4 million dollars in the first quarter, as compared with a deficit of 12.7 million dollars a year earlier. In March, hard currency exports computed in dollars grew by 5.8 per cent, a much more moderate pace than the 11 per cent growth in imports.

Most of the export growth was the result of larger energy, consumer durable, farm and food product sales. The proportion of machines and consumer durables is decisive in imports.

Some 43.3 per cent of the hard currency import contracts cover articles (mainly machines, components, equipment) the import of which was liberalized with effect from January 1, this year.

Rouble Trade (MRBL) [in millions of rubles]

	1988	March 1989	index
export	732.73	811.90	110.80
import	688.29	634.15	92.22
balance	44.44	177.15	

	1988	January-March 1989	index
export	1584.00	1589.83	100.37
import	1506.96	1482.67	98.39
balance	77.04	107.16	

Convertible Trade (MUSD) [in millions of U.S. dollars]

	1988	March 1989	index
export	485.52	513.82	105.83
import	416.35	462.21	111.01
balance	69.17	51.61	

	1988	January-March 1989	index
export	1054.09	1074.24	101.91
import	1066.84	1064.80	99.81
balance	-12.75	9.44	

Structure of Foreign Trade January-March rouble trade (million roubles) 1988

	export	in per cent of the exp.	import	in per cent of the imp.
energy	4.9	0.31	502.4	33.34
materials	371.6	23.46	558.2	37.04
machines	737.3	46.55	238.4	15.82
consumer goods	262.4	16.56	170.1	11.29
food	207.8	13.12	37.8	2.51
total	1584.0	100.00	1507.0	100.00

1989

	export	in per cent of the exp.	import	in per cent of the imp.
energy	6.4	0.40	500.7	33.77
materials	354.1	22.27	503.4	33.95
machines	772.2	48.57	246.0	16.59
consumer goods	250.4	15.75	203.7	13.74
food	206.7	13.00	28.9	1.95
total	1589.8	100.00	1482.7	100.00

Structure of the Foreign Trade January-March Convertible Trade (million dollars) 1988

	export	in per cent of the exp.	import	in per cent of the imp.
energy	76.9	7.29	90.9	8.52
materials	456.7	43.33	632.7	59.30
machines	89.1	8.45	123.4	11.57
consumer goods	170.2	16.15	83.8	7.86
food	261.2	24.78	136.0	12.74
total	1054.1	100.00	1066.8	100.00

1989

	export	in per cent of the exp.	import	in per cent of the imp.
energy	36.3	3.38	7.7	0.72
materials	507.2	47.21	649.2	60.97
machines	103.4	9.62	158.2	14.86
consumer goods	159.4	14.84	93.7	8.80
food	268.0	24.95	156.1	14.66
total	1074.2	100.00	1064.8	100.00

Walesa Comments on Slupsk 'Bugging', Election

LD1105184289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 11 May 89

[Excerpts] News from Olgierd Pawlowski from Gdansk.

[Pawlowski] Lech Walesa's news conference was slightly late today: he came to it straight from Warsaw. As might have been expected, judging by the conversations in the corridors, the first question concerned the so-called Slupsk affair, the alleged bugging at the Solidarity headquarters.

[Begin Walesa recording] I suspect that this is a relic of the past; that certain things, certain mechanisms continue to operate. Maybe the storerooms are full; maybe it has to be used up; maybe somebody got carried away and is still doing it. So, I wouldn't blow it out of proportion; I wouldn't be distracted from the main job we have to do. We regard it as the past, something unnecessary; it's a small thing, it belongs to the past. But if we point it out, then maybe it will bring about more caution, so all's well that ends well, maybe. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Pawlowski] Is the election campaign going according to the roundtable decisions?

[Begin Walesa recording] It would be ideal if we could say that everything is as agreed and so on. But no, life is a bit more complicated. Everybody is trying to win as much as possible. So are we, anyway; so is the government, the coalition, whatever you want to call it. This is a normal election fight—just as long as it's fair. It's not always fair and that's how it will be. Naturally, we have to learn better how to show legal respect for all obligations, and that means all sides. [end recording]

[Pawlowski] A TRYBUNA LUDU correspondent, continuing with the election issue, asks Lech Walesa's his opinion on the defamation of opposing candidates, which—in the questioner's opinion—was contained in the report from Pila published in GAZETA WYBORCZA.

[Begin Walesa recording] This is like scoring a goal against yourself, which somebody did through stupidity. That must not happen, but there are few more of these shots, anyway. These sort of goals are suicidal goals. This must not be done because it must be a maximally clean game. It can't be completely clean: somebody always slips through, but not like that. We will correct it, we'll apologize. I apologize now. [end recording]

[Pawlowski] A solidarity representative from the Komuna Paryska Shipyard protested Lech Walesa's negative assessment of some events on May Day, an assessment he gave at the last news conference. Here is his answer:

[Begin Walesa recording] Please organize me a rally, or I'll organize it myself, and I'll get approval, I'd like to say, because we live in a civilized state and we will take a civilized approach to matters. And that's the will of the work forces and the will of our society. Nobody wants to be hit by a stone because of irresponsible outbursts. I don't want it either. [end recording]

* Solidarity Committee Issues Electoral Program

26000478 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Apr-1 May 89 p 6

[PAP report: "Electoral Program of Solidarity Citizens' Committee"]

[Text]

Why Are We Going To Vote?

We are calling on all people to participate in elections because we are aware of the benefits which Poland may achieve due to the representation of independent forces in the Sejm and the Senate. This is an important opportunity for the present and the future.

We know that thousands of people are asking themselves: why should we take part in these elections? What is in it for us? After all, these are not completely democratic elections, are they?

We want to answer these questions.

In entering the elections, we are not turning a blind eye to the still undemocratic system of governing our country, and we do not intend to enhance the credibility of this system. We want to change this system, accomplishing this through evolutionary changes, using parliamentary methods as well. Providing an opportunity for limited representation in the parliament is not a favor on the part of the authorities, but rather giving to the people a part of what they are due. This has come after many years of struggle which consisted of the bloodily suppressed workers' actions beginning in the year 1956, the strikes of 1980, the formation of the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Unions] Solidarity, and persistent struggle in defense of the civil and human rights by our people after 13 December 1981.

For more than 40 years now, the government in Poland has been undemocratic and not subject to control. This year's elections will not make the government democratic. However, they may bring about a condition in which society controls the government through its independent representatives. This will be the case if a corresponding number of persons elected by us will come to both chambers. These have to be intelligent, diligent, inquisitive, and, above all, honest people who will not allow themselves to be corrupted or broken.

An independent minority in the parliament will not form a government, and will not be able to nominate a president to our liking. However, it will express lawfully and openly the will of Polish society, and will mobilize public opinion. It will no longer be possible to govern entirely against its views. The independent minority will be able to obtain information not previously released, in the absence of which it is difficult to control the authorities, and reform the the state.

Pursuant to the principles set forth by the roundtable and affirmed by a law [passed by] the Sejm, the Senate will be able to reject any law it finds harmful. In order to pass it in a legally valid manner, the Sejm will then require a two-thirds majority, or 66.6 percent. It will not have this majority if 35 percent of the deputies will object, and this is exactly the share of seats which we may get. This provides an opportunity for the parliament to object to hastily imposed, ill-considered, or altogether harmful draft legislation. Thus far, such effective objections have been lacking. However, we do not want to restrict ourselves to objections. Our presence will influence the legislative work of the parliament and the policy of the government.

What We Will Strive For

The sovereignty of the people and independence of the country, and the betterment of the republic are our goal. We intend to proceed toward this goal using the methods of legal activities, of parliamentary political struggle.

We strive to strengthen human and civil rights, so that free people will be able to build their country together.

We strive for a reform in the economy and for a new social policy, so that work will become meaningful again, and people will be given the dignified living conditions they deserve.

I. Civil Rights

1. Constitution

Reconstructing the state should be based on a new constitution complying with the democratic traditions of the Poles, implementing the concept of freedom, equality of citizens regardless of ethnic background, religious, political, or other convictions, and guaranteeing the sovereignty of the people and the socially accented [as published] methods of government.

Ascribing a guiding or leading role, or other privileges, to any party or another political force should be ruled out.

2. Elections

The current election agreement has been signed for one time [only]. The next elections to the Sejm and the Senate should be completely democratic, without any restrictions or privileges.

3. Self-Government Of Cities And Gminas

Restoring authentic self-government of cities and gminas is an important step on the way to democracy. A self-government body should be an exclusive master of its territory which is completely separate from the state administration. Councils should be elected by free and democratic balloting. Only compliance with these conditions will make the ownership of the councils' own assets and finances meaningful. Cities and gminas should have a right to join in unions, and be protected from interference by voivodships and central authorities. Only in this case will the farmer be treated properly in offices, and they will not lord it over him. Only then may the slogan "A peasant on his farm is king for all he surveys" be implemented.

4. Freedom Of Associations

We will safeguard and defend the right of citizens to form associations, and engage in public activities. Our deputies and senators will be the spokespersons for the communities and groups which have supported their program and candidacies, especially the NSZZ Solidarity, the NSZZ Solidarity of Individual Farmers, and the NZS [Independent Association of University Students].

It will be their task to expand the freedom of trade unions, to implement persistently trade union and association pluralism, as well as the freedom of creating and operating political parties.

5. Legislative Activities

Polish legislation should safeguard the freedom and rights of citizens. It should fully comply with the international obligations of Poland in the sphere of protecting human rights. We will work for a radical reform of the criminal law in the direction of reducing its repressiveness. We will also make an effort to modify the civil law so that it would protect the interests of citizens better.

6. Application Of The Law

We will safeguard the right of every citizen to an impartial and fair trial. Courts must be independent of political and administrative organs, and judges on the bench should be independent. The prosecutor's office should be subordinated to the Ministry of Justice. Boards for misdemeanors should be eliminated, and only the court may have the right to deprive a person of his freedom. The Citizen's Militia, which should serve to protect the life, freedom, and property of citizens, needs to be depoliticized. We will respond militantly and pertinaciously to all unlawful practices and violations of the rights of citizens.

7. Culture And Information

A complete access to comprehensive information, to public expression of his views is the right of every citizen. We will strive to eliminate censorship, and to abolish the state monopoly on TV and radio broadcasts, on allocating paper, and on controlling printing plants. We will work toward a system of financing culture which is devoid of political privileges, for conditions facilitating the publication of independent periodicals, for ensuring the right of independent culture to publishing houses and institutions serving its needs. We must bring the crisis of Polish book [publishing] to an end. We will make an effort in order to ensure for society the broadest access to the benefits and values of culture.

8. Military Service

We will demand that the duration of military service be reduced, alternative service by recruits be introduced on a broader scale, especially in education and the health care service. We will strive to provide guarantees of compliance with the basic human rights with regard to soldiers, including the freedom of conscience and religious practices, and the right to own personal property. We want to eliminate military training in schools. We

will demand changes which will make the armed forces serve the Polish state rather than any single party.

9. Right to Advancement

We will demand the abolition of nomenclature in all spheres of social life, and work for the equal right of all citizens to have access to work, hold management positions, as well as participate in public life.

II. Economy

10. Most Urgent Actions

No economic miracle will happen, nor can it, in the 4-year term of the new Sejm. However, the acquisition of independence by various enterprises will make it possible to reduce waste, restrict unprofitable, and occasionally harmful, production, and regroup the employees and national assets in such a way as to achieve better results quickly. The law must be repealed which now allows the government to interfere at will in the operation of enterprises, and even to liquidate them. The decision on liquidating the Gdansk Shipyard should be reviewed by a commission independent of the government. We believe that it is necessary and possible to take urgent steps in the Sejm with a view to improving the situation of the poorest and socially most disenfranchised families. The operation of public services, primarily of the health care service and education, needs to be improved. The funds needed for these purposes may be secured by introducing cuts in the outlays of the military and the Ministry of Internal Affairs the apparatus of management, and international obligations, and reducing investment, primarily in the fuel and energy sector.

We will undertake actions in the Sejm and the Senate with a view to increasing food production rapidly by immediately reforming the agricultural policy, which will improve even extemporaneously the living conditions of rural population and the provisioning of cities.

We will see to it that all resolutions of the roundtable on demonopolizing procurement and processing of agricultural products and supplying agriculture be carried out comprehensively, as well as those on switching a segment of industry to meet the needs of agriculture, changing the tax policy, inexpensive loans, and equality of all ownership sectors.

We can and should arrest the retrogression of civilization in our country, the decay of national assets, and the process of impoverishment of a majority of the working people.

We should embark on combating inflation effectively. Subjecting the state budget and the tax system to parliamentary control should be the primary means for accomplishing this.

11. Economic Reform

We will work to establish a new economic order which will be based on the market and independent enterprises operating under market conditions. We seek to have the positions of heads of socialized enterprises filled by competitive applications.

We seek genuinely equal rights for all sectors, and the removal of administrative interference. All economic entities should operate exclusively on their own account and be responsible for the results of their work. Society should not cover the losses resulting from poor management. The profit generated and benefits for society should be the only criterion for evaluating enterprises.

12. Changes In Ownership Relations

We will seek changes in ownership relations. A legal foundation for privatization or genuine socialization should be created. A great portion of the assets presently held by the state should be transferred, sold, or leased to cities, gminas and enterprises, creating companies with the participation of cooperative and private capital. The state should not be directly involved in conducting economic operations. The process of endowment with property and privatizing state assets should be carried out in keeping with clear-cut and fair principles, and without privileges, so that it will not be reduced to endowing the nomenclature with property.

13. Restructuring The Economy

Making the economy healthier calls for changes in its structure. We will seek a reduction in the share of the raw material and energy complex and heavy industry in our economy. We will not go along with excluding any economic sector from the influence of the general principles of reform and the laws of the market. We demand that the enforcement of the antimonopoly laws be made stricter.

14. Changes In Management Structures

The economic reform will only be successful when structures and arrangements which hamper it are eliminated. This is why we seek to remove higher-up levels [of management] above enterprises. It should be made impossible for the economic central echelon to interfere in the operation of enterprises; the institution of parent agencies, conglomerates and coal production enterprises in mining, all central and intermediate structures of cooperatives should be eliminated. Only bodies set up by enterprises themselves may exist, inasmuch as this does not violate the antimonopoly laws.

15. Employee Self-Management

We demand that the powers of self-management bodies give workforces influence on strategic decisions in the enterprise and make them responsible for the performance of the enterprise.

16. Agriculture

We believe agriculture to be the most important issue for our country. The life of rural population and food supply for society depend on it. We bring up this issue as the last among economic matters because we want the entire reformed national economy to work for the benefit of agriculture and rural areas: all industries, domestic and foreign trade, transportation and infrastructure. We will see to it that agriculture is the focal point of the economic policy of the government, especially the economically and socially most valuable family farming. Highly skilled young people whom agriculture needs will continue to flee rural areas for as long as they lag dramatically behind the city in terms of civilization. We will seek to establish for agriculture the most significant position in the new economic order, the position it deserves.

17. Social Supervision

The economic policy and the process of implementing reforms should be subject to efficient social control. We will seek to coordinate them with the trade unions (including agricultural) and a representation of employee and rural self-management bodies. No essential data on the economy may be concealed. We want to create conditions for the development of various programs, a free discussion of them, and a democratic selection of the program enjoying the greatest social support.

III. Living Conditions Of Society

18. Work

We support the policy of full employment. However, we come out against unnecessary and simulated work for which all of us have to pay. We will demand social benefits for people temporarily deprived of the opportunity to work, payments for training in a new profession in the event of liquidation of unprofitable enterprises, and efficient assistance in looking for another job. We are against the exploitation and discrimination of trainees.

19. Equitable Salaries

Everybody has a right to equitable remuneration for labor. We will fight for the income from 42 hours of work weekly to be sufficient for supporting a family. Forcing anybody to work longer is inadmissible.

Retirement benefits are also wages accumulated through laboring for many years. We will not agree to the lowest retirement benefit being less than one-half of the average wage in our country. We regard starvation annuities as a violation of the agreement on social welfare by the state. We will demand that funds saved [due to the reductions] in outlays for the military and the MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs] be primarily allocated to bringing retirement benefits and annuities to an equitable level.

20. Occupational Safety And Responsibility For Accidents

We will demand a major improvement in occupational safety. Enterprises must be liable for work-related accidents under the civil law. Penalties for shortcomings in the sphere of occupational safety and hygiene must be increased. The industrial health service should be independent of the enterprise; also, regulations on occupational diseases should be made more realistic. We will strive to provide greater opportunity for work and ensure equitable conditions for the handicapped.

21. Housing

We are determined to use our presence in the parliament for initiating a major turnaround in this sphere; the housing policy which has brought about the current situation should be changed. We want to break the monopoly of state enterprises, make housing stock management market-oriented while combining this with widespread provision of credit so that apartments would be generally accessible, bring out and support individual, cooperative and private initiatives. Social control over the management of buildings is a means of containing the decay of assets and reducing the cost of upkeep. Rents must cover such expenses; however, compensation should be provided for the growth of rents.

22. Environmental Protection

All Poles have the right to live in a healthy environment. We demand a radical improvement in the situation in areas of ecological danger. A new system of control and penalties should be created in order to make the poisoners stop the poisoning. Harmful enterprises should be liquidated or modernized. Social control in this sphere and ecological movements should be supported and respected by the state. We are against the program of nuclear power generation in its present form. Rational and thrifty management of the natural resources of our country will be our concern.

23. Health Service

We demand a new system in the health care service, such that every person will be able to actually receive the drugs, treatment, and care he needs. Contributions accumulated by the ZUS [Social Security Agency] should be spent exclusively for services to the populace rather than support the state budget. We want to ensure equitable earnings for the employees of the health service and conditions for taking care of the patients. We will demand that the self-management bodies of physicians be restored, bureaucracy be restrained, and party nomenclature in the health service be abolished. We need stop-gap, immediate imports of drugs, medical equipment, and means of hygiene. We also need an efficient and socially acceptable program for combating alcoholism and drug addiction.

24. Schools And Colleges

Schools and colleges should be a place for education and upbringing rather than an ideological front; any ideological coercion or pressure on school grounds is inadmissible. In keeping with this principle, we come out against atheistic propaganda in schools, and the selection of teachers based on their worldview. We will demand that extensive powers be given to self-management bodies of the parents, teachers, [school] students and [college] students. Interference by the administration should be restricted. It is necessary to restore complete autonomy of colleges. Setting up a great number of non-state schools—denominational and other—should be made possible. We should make it possible for national minorities to set up their own schools. Schools have the right to pedagogical experiments, and young people have the right to form associations in line with their needs and preferences. We demand an improvement in the financial standing of schools and colleges, funds for instruction aids and new buildings, and increased salaries for teachers.

25. Young People

We are aware that a justified feeling that opportunity and prospects in life are lacking on the part of the younger generation is one of the most dangerous manifestations of the Polish crisis. The implementation of our entire program is to counteract this phenomenon. This applies in particular to the issues of education, housing, work, earnings, and military service.

26. Hardship Of The Daily Round

The hardship of the daily round is a particular burden on women; it threatens family life. We will embark on a continuous effort to alleviate it. This calls primarily for improving supplies to the stores and better organization of sales, development of services, expansion of the chain of social service institutions, including private. Proper recreation during leaves for children and families must again become generally accessible in the forms complying with economic and social changes. We expect the reform to set in motion various initiatives, and the developing associations and self-management organizations to show the avenues for specific activities. Making the daily round easier is one of our basic goals, and we will work on implementing it persistently.

The above points should not be read as a program of promises. This is the direction for operations. It is to be implemented jointly by society and its representatives in the parliament. This is not a closed-end program. Together we will improve it and add to it during the term of the new Sejm and the new Senate.

Walesa Meets With Italian President Cossiga

AU1105152189 Rome ANSA in English
1220 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] (ANSA) Warsaw, May 11—Polish opposition leader Lech Walesa stressed the need for economic help from Western Europe to guarantee Poland's democratization process when he met Italian President Francesco Cossiga here Thursday.

After a half-hour meeting in the Italian Embassy in Warsaw with Cossiga and Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti, Walesa told journalists "Poland has achieved much, and it needs to be helped."

"With the iron curtain going up, we must have economic committment from the West, it is our only chance," the president of the recently-legalised Solidarity Free Trade Union added.

In an interview with ANSA after the meeting, Walesa's adviser Bronislaw Geremek confirmed that the talks had centered on economic aspects.

During the meeting, Geremek said, Cossiga assured Walesa that economic accords signed recently between Italy and Poland were "a step in the right direction" and pointed to the presence of Fiat President Gianni Agnelli among the official delegation as (?evidence) of Italian industry's commitment to Poland.

Cossiga and Andreotti were scheduled to lunch with Polish Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski before leaving for Czestochowa and Krakow later in the day.

Jaruzelski on Youth Participation in PZPR

LD0605164189 Warsaw PAP in English
1417 GMT 6 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 6—In an exclusive statement for TRYBUNA LUDU today PUWP leader Wojciech Jaruzelski said:

"It is no coincidence that we had opened our (PUWP delegates) conference with handing out party tickets to a hundred of young candidate members from all Polish regions. The participation of young people is a natural condition of durability, continuity of every social movement. From this point of view, our party has gone through a bad time—young people were not coming to us, they were not trusting us, and did not associate their future with the party.

"This is changing. Slowly, not quite smoothly, but it does change. This is an optimistic prognosis because without the younger generation among our ranks, without young aspirations and desires, the transformation of the party itself could not be complete and truly fruitful.

"This young shift in the party will bring into our activities new, modern impulses tailored by the standards of their aspirations, their image of a just and dignified world. The party, in turn, all its generations, should give the young people what is so precious to human life: The sense of ideological community, mutual closeness and support, and show great goals in the service for the nation.

"We do not promise our young comrades easy success, personal profits, lower requirements. conversely, they can expect in the party more duties and high reqirements. But whoever joins our movement in the difficult, crucial time, he develops courage and strength, a chance to have the feeling of a well-done duty and personal self-fulfilment.

"This is an offer for the ambitious and brave, and to such young people our party should turn more and more."

Rakowski Chairs Council of Ministers Session

LD1205072489 Warsaw PAP in English 2209 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 11—The Council of Ministers debated today under the chairmanship of Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski.

The government adopted a bill on pardoning and committing to oblivion of some misdemeanors, including financial and petty offences committed after August 31, 1980, which had been politically motivated, related to strikes, protest actions or militarization.

The government also proposed to forgive and commit to oblivion misdemeanors dictated by political reasons and committed during the implementation of measures aimed to stop strikes, protest actions and other disturbances of peace and public order.

Under the draft law abolition will also cover offences, including financial ones, committed after August 31, 1980, and politically motivated or related to strikes or protest actions.

The Council of Ministers adopted draft amendments to some regulations of the penal code, the law on misdemeanors and other laws.

The government passed draft amendments to the law on higher education, envisaging the addition to the composition of higher schools' collective bodies of representatives of employees who are no academic teachers and of representatives of students alongside the reduction in a number of professors and assistant professors in the schools' senates, legally authorizing higher schools' rectors to approve of studies' schdules as well as curricula and educational program and the abandonment of the practice of opining the civic attitude of a candidate for the post of an academic teacher.

The Council of Ministers also adopted a draft law on changing the name of the Boleslaw Bierut University in Wroclaw, south-western Poland, to Wroclaw University.

USSR's Grishin Visits Polish Soldiers in Silesia

AU1105135289 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 26 Apr 89 pp 1, 5

[Report signed '(jr)': "Colonel General V. Grishin Among Polish Soldiers"]

[Text] Several days after his appointment as the new Soviet representative in Poland of the Joint Supreme Command for Warsaw Pact Forces, Colonel General Viktor Grishin, accompanied by Colonel General Vladimir Sivenok, the outgoing representative, visited the Silesian Military District.

They were warmly welcomed by General of Division Henryk Szumski, the Silesian Military District commander, who briefed Colonel General Grishin on the current training exercises and on the joint objectives of the units of the Silesian Military District and the Soviet Army Northern Group of Forces stationed in the district.

The Soviet comrades-in-arms visited the Silesian Military District's hall of fame. They also visited the Voivodship Offices in Wroclaw, where Deputy Voivoda Richard Rafajlowicz told them of the Wroclaw region's achievements and of the Wroclaw region's close ties with Soviet Zaporozhye.

Colonel General Viktor Grishin also visited Polish Air Force Command headquarters in Poznan. General of Division Tytus Krawczyc, commander of the Polish Air Force, briefed Colonel General Grishin on the current and long-term tasks, and on the future prospects of the air force. He also spoke about the cooperation between Polish airmen, the Soviet Army Northern Group of Forces, and the armed forces of other Warsaw Pact member states.

General Grishin visited the Polish Air Force Hall of Fame where he was familiarized with the history and campaigns of the Polish People's Air Force, which was originally formed on Soviet soil. Also present was Colonel General Vladimir Sivenok who was ending his military mission in our country.

Spokesman Rykowski Holds 9 May News Conference

AU0905182089 Warsaw PAP in English 1747 GMT 9 May 89

[Report by Jerzy Redlich and Waldemar Janiec]

[Text] Warsaw, May 9—The electoral campaign, international visits, agreement on the Pomeranian Bay, strike actions, coking plant in Stonawa, the draft law on the protection of conceived life, have been the main topics of today's press conference with deputy spokesman for the government, Zbyslaw Rykowski.

Before Elections

Answering questions about the financing of the electoral campaigns of candidates to the Sejm and Senate, Rykowski said that the candidates pay for their campaigns themselves, while every independent firm can financially support any candidate. At the same time, Rykowski said that the press is also free to publish electoral programmes and related statements with the editorial boards deciding whether to publish texts of a given candidate. He added that the state treasury covers the costs of holding the elections.

Rykowski answered a question about the electoral campaign of the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) by saying that the state election commission recognizes the right of every candidate to have a campaign but an electoral campaign does not legalise illegal organisations.

Before Visit of George Bush

Asked to comment on the visit of U.S. President George Bush to Poland, which is planned for July, this year, Rykowski said that U.S. President's statement on April 17, which referred to Polish affairs, was positively received in Poland. It expresses the willingness to understand the essence of the Polish changes and, at the same time, an announcement of assisting the processes of reforms, also in the field of economy. We would appreciate this announcement being materialised in practice, Rykowski stressed. We expect that President George Bush's talks in Warsaw will contribute to the reconstruction of the Polish-American cooperation in all fields, in which we are interested.

Asked about the aim of the visit of Polish Finance Minister Andrzej Wroblewski to the United States Rykowski said that during his visit the minister will meet with U.S. secretary of treasury and will hold talks with IMF and World Bank representatives with whom he will discuss the whole of he financial relations between Poland and the West in the context of the recent statements by Western politicians.

Before Visit of Italian President

"The visit of President Francesco Cossiga who will be accompanied by Italian minister of foreign affairs, starting tomorrow, will be another major event in the Polish-Italian relations that experience a model development," Rykowski said.

He told journalists that several agreements would be signed during the visit. Francesco Cossiga and Wojciech Jaruzelski will take part in the inauguration of Collegium Julianum, a meeting of specialists in the political thought of Cicero, for the first time to be held outside Italy.

President of the "Fiat" concern Giovanni Agnelli who accompanies cooperation of both countries in producing a new car engine. [sentence as received]

Polish-GDR Relations

A Polish visit of GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, to take place later this month, will certainly add dynamics to the cooperation between Poland and her western neighbour, Rykowski told the conference. He also added that the agreement on the Pomeranian Bay is expected to be signed during the visit.

Asked about the strike situation in the Lubin copper region, Rykowski stated that the government observes with concern all strike actions, but in accordance with the new economic order, it leaves settlement of disputes to independent enterprises and their crews.

Zbyslaw Rykowski polemized with the "Solidarnosc" spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz's opinion on the strikes in the copper region as being of non-political character and not harmful to the elections. In Rykowski's opinion every strike is detrimental to the fragile foundations of the accord reached at the round table.

In reply to the question on the protest action of the "Spolem" cooperative workers, the spokesman said that minister of home market Marcin Nurowski suggested a public debate on the shop assistants' postulates.

Coking Plant in Stonawa

Rykowski expressed regret at lack of the Czechoslovak authorities' response to the request to receive Polish experts who were to examine the ecological threat posed by the coking plant in Stonawa (near the Polish border).

He also announced that Czechoslovakia had not acknowledged the Polish claims for compensation for pollution of the Odra River. The Czechoslovak side is willing to pay a certain sum of money, in no way, however, an adequate compensation for the harm done. The Polish side refused the offer, Rykowski stated.

Protection of Conceived Life

Asked to present the government's opinion on the draft law on protection of the conceived life, Zbyslaw Rykowski stated that the ministry of health and social welfare is to present a stand on the issue in the Sejm.

He recalled that the binding law had eliminated a criminal aspect of abortion. Involving of the investigative apparatus in the service of moral commandments proposed now is anachronic. We should fight against abortion with other methods, the government spokesman stated.

Poland and Council of Europe

Asked about the significance of Poland's acceptance as a partner of the Council of Europe in the field of culture, Zbyslaw Rykowski pointed out that the partnership covers not only the cultural sphere and expressed satisfaction at the fact that Europe is getting closer to Poland.

Electoral Commission Discusses Sejm, Senate

LD0405224289 Warsaw PAP in English
2116 GMT 4 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 4—The State Electoral Commission today sized up the course of preparations for the elections to the Sejm and Senate. The discussion was presided over by Alfons Klafkowski.

According to the timetable of the elections 108 district electoral commissions were appointed with 1,829 people voluntarily doing the work. About 31 per cent of them are PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] members, about 12 per cent—UPP [United Peasants Party], about 8 per cent—DP [Democratic Party]. Some 48 per cent are independent people and the "Solidarity" citizens' committees are represented by 429 persons which is 23.5 per cent of all the district commissions' members.

Presidiums of local people's councils had established 22,411 voting districts in all provinces, in this number 695 separate districts established in charity homes and hospitals.

The commission adopted guidelines concerning the tasks and procedure of work of the electoral commissions in the period immediately preceding the elections and on the voting day.

In connection with the protest made at the previous meeting of the commission against police preventing KPN (Confederation for Independent Poland) electoral meetings, the State Electoral Commission has received an explanation from the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The document reads that these meetings were not held in agreement with Article 98 of the Electoral Law as their organisers themselves described them as a separate electoral campaign of the KPN with an electoral programme of this illegal organisation. The electoral law says that a campaign may be carried out only by subjects eligible to nominate candidates or by the candidates themselves.

Under Article 41 of the Electoral Law the KPN has no right to nominate candidates because it is not a legally recognised organisation. The propaganda elements highlighted during the meetings stressed that it was a campaign of a "political party" called KPN and not a campaign of individual citizens belonging to the KPN.

The Interior Ministry also explained that the KPN showed a rare attitude towards the elections. Speaking to Western mass media its leaders announced a confrontational election proramme saying that "it is likely that the communists will somehow ban our candidates from the elections. We shall receive that with pleasure because in this way one of the alternative goals of our campaign will be reached." thus, the KPN deliberately masterminded provative forms of activities imitating participation in the elections.

The State Electoral Commission decided to send the explanation to the protester.

PZPR Conference of Delegates Held 4 May

UPP Chairman Speaks

LD0405220889 Warsaw PAP in English
2101 GMT 4 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 4—Chairman of the United Peasant Party [UPP] CC [Central Committee] Roman Malinowski, conveying on behalf of UPP members wishes of fruitful debates to the conference, said among other things:

There is a deep conviction among UPP members that one's own, strong, sovereign and just state is the supreme good for Poles. That is why we come out for the strengthening of the state and for further changes in the system of excercising power, for the development of parliamentary democracy. This should be reflected in the future constitution and in the legislative activities of the new parliament.

The UPP, like the PUWP, is a firm advocate of reforms in the economy, leading first of all to the introduction of market rules, balancing, the elimination of sources of inflation and the strengthening of the zloty. Our efforts to introduce market rules in agriculture and food economy stem from the care to fully secure food for society and to work out permanent food surplus for export.

We are jointly organizing and running the electoral campaign to the Sejm and the Senate. We are approaching the elections as a coalition, supporting and assisting each other. We want every participant in the coalition as well as the coalition as a whole to win the elections. The UPP is going to the elections with its own electoral declaration. It declares its will for the development of partnerly cooperation with the PUWP, today, during the elections and after them in the parliament, in the government, in all the structures of our state.

DP Chairman Speaks

LD0405221189 Warsaw PAP in English
2104 GMT 4 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 4—Addressing the conference of PUWP delegates here today, chairman of the Democratic Party [DP] CC [Central Committee] Jerzy Jozwiak said in part:

"We are aware that the PUWP delegates' conference is a political event of great importance for Poland and Poles.

"We will broadly present our programme passed by the 14th DP congress in the electoral campaign to the Sejm and the Senate. It includes concepts frequently convergent with the resolutions of the 10th PUWP CC plenum, but there are also essential differences in the approach to numerous problems.

"The supreme national interests and goals are the source of the functioning of the present coalition, but the effectiveness of its activity requires that the coalition parties present various and competitive political programmes, submit them to the public judgement, carry out polemics with one another.

"Sovereignty of the whole nation is the original source of power and the whole nation is a carrier, subject of any authority. In the present socio-political situation it is necessary to break off with the class concept of the state. Supremacy of any social group over others is inconceivable in the modern state," Jerzy Jozwiak stated.

PZPR Spokesman's Remarks Reported

LD0505015389 Warsaw PAP in English 2346 GMT 4 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 4—The national conference of delegates is of particular importance, stated PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] CC [Central Committee] spokesman Jan Bisztyga at a press conference here today commenting on today's debates. The level of transformations already made in the party, he added, indicates that current problems facing the country cannot be solved using old methods of the PUWP's functioning.

The delegates advocate a qualitative change in the party's functioning and in its ties with masses, the spokesman stated.

Bisztyga also said that the conference is not of a sensational character. The party's expectations that the national conference would seal the changes included in the resolutions of the 10th plenum have become a fact.

The PUWP CC spokesman stressed that the discussion at the conference concerned not only the party's matters. Most of the participants considered the country's problems, the party's responsibility for many spheres of strategic character.

The methods of functioning of the party's leadership were also discussed, Bisztyga continued. All these problems require calling of the 11th PUWP Congress. The suggestions made on the issue will be submitted to the Central Committee for decision.

As Bisztyga stated, criticism revealed in the conference's debates concerns several issues. Firstly, the question whether the party defends the working class interests in a proper way. The interests of people who are burdened most with the economic, social and political situation.

Secondly, the fear persists whether union pluralism at the lowest levels, namely in the work enterprises, is not going to provoke new tension or ill-feeling among workers.

The third premise for criticism is consideration of threats against the party, namely the impact of defensive character of the party's activity, incapability of exerting mass influence on society and bureaucracy still existing in the party's functioning.

But the criticism, the spokesman said, means that the party adapts to the changed conditions, that it has gone a stage further in realization of the line: party the same but not alike. A new approach to its unity is new phenomenon in the party. It is the unit in diversity of opinions and the national conference of delegates shows that.

Bisztyga denied suggestions that the national conference might meet again, as if in the second round, after the Sejm and Senate elections.

From the political point of view, he stated, we observe full acceptance of the resolutions of the 10th CC Plenum.

Asked whether the question of cancellation of the constitutional provision on the leading role of the party, suggested by the citizen' committee "Solidarity", was considered, the CC spokesman said that the formulation must undergo evolution. The party repeatedly stated that it is not going to fulfill the function of "omnipotent" and monopolist in the political, social and economic life of the country. But such an essential change requires legal and political changes, Bisztyga stated.

New Party Committee First Secretary Elected

AU1105145189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Mar 89 p 2

[Excerpts] PAP—The Nowy Sacz Voivodship Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] held a plenary session in Nowy Sacz on 29 March. [passage omitted]

In a secret vote, the members of the Committee elected Antoni Raczka first secretary.

Antoni Raczka (52 years old) holds a degree in administration from the Jagiellonian University. He has been a party member since 1958. From 1964 to 1966 he was chairman of the Union of Rural Youth branch in Zywiec, from where he transferred to the PZPR apparatus. He was secretary of the Zywiec District PZPR Committee, and then first secretary of the Limanow District PZPR Committee. Following the creation of the Nowy Sacz Voivodship, he worked in the Voivodship Office and Voivodship PZPR Committee of Nowy Sacz. In 1981 he was appointed voivoda of Nowy Sacz.

SCINTEIA Views Recent Disarmament Meetings

AU1005132589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1248 GMT 10 May 89

["'SCINTEIA' on Recent International Meetings on Disarmament"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Romanian daily "SCINTEIA" of 10 May refers in a commentary to the recent international meetings in Geneva and New York: the session of the preparatory committee of the third conference on the application of the treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof, and the first preparatory meeting for the fourth conference of the countries parties to the non-proliferation treaty.

The newspaper underscores that the conclusion in 1971 of the first of these treaties was a positive measure as regards the prohibition of the militarization of seas and oceans, its provisions being observed and this juridical instrument functioning efficiently in general. Nevertheless, the commentary stresses, the fact—unanimously highlighted by the non-nuclear states—cannot be overlooked that now more than ever before negotiations should further be imposed to covenant new disarmament measures, to prevent the arms race on sea-beds and ocean floors. Or there is a reality that since the treaty came into force the arms race not only that has not lessened but continued at high rates the big powers stockpiling nuclear weapons of various types able to destroy the whole mankind several times over and annihilate life of our planet. A reason for worry is the fact that seas and oceans are used to an ever larger extent for military purposes, that missiles are launched, new weapons, nuclear included, are tested and wide-scope military manoeuvres are held in international waters—which directly threatens the independence and security of the neighbouring states, international peace and security.

Come into force on 5 March 1970, the newspaper goes on, the non-proliferation treaty was in no way conceived as an instrument whereby the world should be divided into nuclear and non-nuclear countries but as a starting point for further concerted efforts toward achieving general and complete disarmament. It is true that of late some understandings have been reached between the USSR and the U.S.A. on nuclear arms reduction. In Vienna, within the CSCE framework, negotiations started on conventional arms reduction between NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries. As a matter of fact, as regards the proportions and rhythm of nuclear arming, the results of negotiations on nuclear disarmament and weapon control are infinitesimal, and so mankind continues to be exposed to the dangers generated by the arms race.

Romania, "SCINTEIA" points out, has declared for faster negotiations on the elimination of the danger of a devastating conflagration and the ensurance of a future of peace and collaboration among peoples. In Romania's opinion, the disarmament process should simultaneously include all categories of weapons—nuclear, chemical and conventional. It is only in this way that an ever more stable balance of forces can be ensured at the lowest levels, as well as equal security for all states. It is only in this way that such a situation can be avoided in which one weapon or another is used for blackmail or pressure on other states.

More than once Romania has underscored the importance of the non-nuclear states' receiving guarantees from the nuclear ones. It is clear that the states which undertook not to manufacture or get nuclear weapons have the right to demand the nuclear states to pledge that never shall they use or threaten with the use of nuclear weapons or, generally, of force against the non-nuclear states.

In the spirit of its policy of peace, collaboration and understanding worldwide, Romania took part in these two meetings inspired by the wish to make a constructive contribution to turning the above-mentioned international treaties into major political instruments apt to open broad prospects to the efforts toward stopping the arms race, the nuclear one first and foremost, toward achieving disarmament and ensuring peace—the cardinal problems of our days, the newspaper winds up.

Wreath-Laying Ceremonies Mark Victory Day

Ceremonies Held in Romania

AU0905184689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1738 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 9/5/1989—Marking 9 May, the day of the proclamation of Romania's full state independence and of the victory over fascism, wreath laying ceremonies were held Tuesday in Bucharest at the Memorial of the Heroes of the Struggle for the Liberty of the People and the Homeland, for Socialism, at the Memorial of the Homeland's Heroes and the Memorial of Soviet Heroes. Floral wreaths were laid on behalf of the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of Romania, on behalf of the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Wreaths were also laid on behalf of the Ministry of National Defence and the Ministry of the Interior, the Central Council of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania, the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, the Council of the Union of Communist Students Associations of Romania and the National Council of the Young Pioneers Organization, the Bucharest Municipality RCP Committee, the Executive Committee of the Bucharest Municipality People's Council, the Committee of the Former Antifascist War Fighters and Veterans.

Floral wreaths were also laid by the diplomatic corps.

Groups of young pioneers laid garlands.

The ceremonies were attended by Manea Manescu, Emil Bobu, Ion Coman, Miu Dobrescu, Gheorghe Oprea, Suzana Gidea, Vasile Milea, Ion Stoian, Barbu Petrescu, first secretary of the Bucharest Municipality RCP Committee, mayor general of the capital city, as well as by members of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, of the State Council and the government, of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, by managerial staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of central institutions, mass and public organizations, active and retired generals, former commanders of large units on the anti-Hitlerist front, former antifascist combatants, representatives of working people in Bucharest enterprises and institutions.

Heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Bucharest, military attaches, other members of the diplomatic corps attended.

Guards of honour formed of soldiers of the Armed Forces, members of the patriotic guards and formations for the training of the youth in defence of the homeland, lined up on the platforms in front of the memorials, presented arms.

The anthem of the Socialist Republic of Romania was played at the Memorial of the Heroes of the Struggle for the Liberty of the People and the Homeland, for Socialism, and at the Memorial of the Homeland's Heroes.

The anthems of the USSR and the Socialist Republic of Romania were played at the Memorial of Soviet Heroes. The attendance included Y.M. Tyazhelnikov, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Bucharest, the military, air and naval attache of the USSR, and members of the embassy.

After the laying of the wreaths, the participants in the ceremonies kept a minute's silence.

At the end of the ceremonies the attendance received the march-past of the guards of honour.

The same day a similar ceremony was held at the Cemetery of Tincabesti, Ilfov agricultural sector, of the British military who died in Romania's territory in their fight against fascism.

Floral wreaths were laid on behalf of Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu, the State Council and the Government of Romania.

Wreaths were also laid on behalf of the Ministry of National Defence, the Executive Committee of the Bucharest Municipality People's Council as well as of the diplomatic corps. A group of young pioneers laid garlands.

The ceremony was attended by Gheorghe Radulescu, vice-president of the State Council, Lina Ciobanu, deputy prime minister, representatives of the Bucharest Municipality People's Council, generals and officers, other officials.

Alan R. Clark, charge d'affaires ad interim of Great Britain in Bucharest, the British military and naval attache, heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Romania, members of the diplomatic corps, attended.

A military guard presented arms. The anthems of the Great Britain and of the Socialist Republic of Romania were played.

At the end of the ceremonies the attendance received the march-past of the guard of honour.

Marking the same events floral wreaths were laid at the Ghencea Military Cemetery, the Cemeteries of the Soviet Soldiers of Herastrau and Jilava, at the memorial cemeteries of the Romanian and Soviet soldiers across the country.

Ceremonies in Hungary

AU1005124489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1059 GMT 10 May 89

["Wreaths Laid at Romanian Servicemen's Memorials in the Hungarian People's Republic"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/05/1989—Marking the 44th anniversary of victory over fascism on 9 May, Romania's ambassador in Budapest laid a wreath at the Romanian Servicemen's Memorial and graves in the capital of the Hungarian People's Republic (Rakosliget). More than 11,000 Romanian soldiers gave their lives in the great battles with the Hitler-Horthy forces for the liberation of Budapest forty-four years ago. Over 42,000 Romanian soldiers and officers made the highest sacrifice in a contribution to Hungary's liberation.

Wreaths were also laid on behalf of Romania's Embassy at the Romanian Servicemen's Memorials and graves at Debrecen, Gyor, Miskolc, Nyiregyhaza, Cegled, Megyaszo, Sulysap, Tapioszecso.

Ceremonies in Bulgaria

AU1005181389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1745 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 10/5/1989—On the 112th anniversary of the proclamation of Romania's full state independence, on May 9, 1877, Romania's ambassador in Sofia laid floral wreaths and garlands at the Memorials in Pleven, Grivitsa, Pordim and Oryakhovo in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, dedicated to the memory of the Romanian heroes who died during the 1877-1878 war.

CSSR National Day Commemorative Ceremonies Held

AU1105101389 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 8 May p 6

["Commemorative Ceremonies in Honor of the Romanian Soldiers Who Fell in the Battles Fought for the Liberation of CSSR" held in CSSR on 7 May]

[Text] Prague, (AGERPRES)—Within the framework of commemorative ceremonies on the anniversary of CSSR National Day, on behalf of the Romanian Embassy in Prague and the local party and state leadership and mass and civic organizations, wreaths were laid at the Central Cemetery of the Romanian Army in Zvolen, where the graves of the Romanian soldiers who fell in the battles fought for the liberation of Czechoslovakia from the fascist domination can be found.

The flags of the Romanian Socialist Republic and of the CSSR were hoisted and the national anthems of the two countries were played; a minute's silence was observed as a tribute to the sacrifices and the contribution made by the Romanian Army to the liberation of Czechoslovak territory.

On the same occasion, wreaths were laid at the monument of the Romanian heroes who fell in the battles for the liberation of Piestany and Stara Tura—where a festive meeting took place in the central square of these towns—and in Brno.

Representatives of the local party and state bodies, directors of institutes and enterprises, militaries, pioneers, and many citizens attended these ceremonies.

Iranian Bank Governer Majid Qasemi Visits

Andrei, Urdea Meet Qasemi

AU1005182589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1805 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 10/5/1989—On 10 May Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister of Romania, received Majid Qasemi, governor of the Central Bank of the Islamic Republic of Iran, now on a visit to Romania.

During the interview reference was made to aspects regarding the development of the Romanian-Iranian economic relations.

The reception was attended by Decebal Urdea, governor of the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Dascalescu Receives Qasemi

AU1105173889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1636 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 11/5/1989—On Thursday, 11 May, Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Majid Qasemi, governor of the Central Bank of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

During the interview reference was made to the good relations established between Romania and Iran, to the possibilities to expand the bilateral economic collaboration, in the financial and banking domain included, in keeping with the summit talks and understandings.

The guest highly appreciated the Romanian people's historical success—the liquidation of its foreign debt—an achievement worthy of admiration and respect.

Cyprus EDEK Leader Lyssaridhis Greets Ceausescu

AU1105135989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 May p 5

[Message from Vasos Lyssaridhis, president of the Socialist Party of Cyprus to Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romanian Communist Party anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

On the occasion of the 68th anniversary of the Romanian Communist Party, on behalf of the Socialist Party of Cyprus (EDEK) and on my own behalf, I convey warmest greetings to you and to the friendly Romanian people.

We express our belief that the relations of friendship which link our parties and peoples will continue to develop for the benefit of our countries and in the interest of peace, freedom, and international justice.

[Signed] Dr Vasos Lyssaridhis president of the Socialist Party of Cyprus (EDEK)

Milosevic Addresses Serbian Presidency Session

AU1105153689 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 May 89 pp 1, 5

[Unattributed report on the speech by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, at the Serbian Presidency session on 8 May: "Mobilized in This Way Serbia Can Do Much for Itself and Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Taking over the new post and thanking the members of the Serbian Presidency, citizens, and working people on the confidence expressed, Slobodan Milosevic said:

"As all the citizens of Serbia and Yugoslavia know, the Republic of Serbia has just completed a major job concerning constitutional changes. This job required several years and much work—political, scientific, publishing, journalistic, and cultural.

"Now we face the duty of developing the constitutionally established Serbia economically, politically, and culturally.

"Our most urgent tasks are those concerning the economy. They refer to a rise in the standard of living, solving the problem of unemployment, and stabilizing and reducing prices. These tasks require major economic projects: a radical confrontation with fictitious social interests, unproductive enterprises, with fictitious employment, careless work, isolated enterprises, and particularist interests. Many people who have found themselves in such positions, neither willingly nor through any fault of their own, but who accidently happened to be part of them, should be protected from the consequences arising from the clash with the current economic and political policy. In this sense, the social policy program must follow the economic reform program. In other words it should be a part of social reform program," Milosevic stressed.

"In political life we face the further advancement of the process which is already taking place in our republic. It refers to the democratization of political work as a whole at all levels, it refers to the openness of political work, the reaffirmation of accountability for political work as well as for all other work.

"In Serbia these changes started with the eighth session of the Serbian LC Central Committee session. Today, when we have achieved major political changes, they should be developed more rapidly and more comprehensively.

"Serbia's aim is to develop itself in the economic and political sense as a democratic, free society, to be in all respects closer to the ideals of a modern progressive society. As far as political life is concerned, freedom and democracy should enable it to develop on the multiplicity and richness of ideas for the economic, political, and cultural development of society. There is no doubt that there will be no shortage of such ideas in a community which today has a large number of young, educated, professional, and progressively oriented people, a community in which science and art follow and contribute themselves to the development of scientific and artistic creativity of the contemporary world. Then, as regards Serbia, it is a community which has traditionally been developing itself in a democratic way and has displayed strong feelings for progressive things. Serbia has affirmed this democracy and progress through its history, through its science, theory, culture, and politics.

"Cultural development, which is not less important nor less urgent than economic and political development, will also contribute to the economic and political prosperity and the prosperity of society as a whole. No society can pretend to progress without having developed science, art, education, and information. Creating conditions for their free development and enabling them to follow and contribute to the development of the culture of the contemporary world is a part of the social reform on which were are embarking," Milosevic stressed.

"In future years we should try to realize this program of reforms which encompass the above-mentioned economic, political, and cultural changes. However, we shall also try to take care of the interests of our entire society, of Yugoslavia as our joint homeland. In this sense, in considering our first moves we will try to contribute to the changes to the Constitution which are the first and the most important condition for successfully transforming Yugoslav society as a whole. We saw by Serbia's example, by our own example that we should proceed from the Constitution. This is the necessary, although of course not sufficient, condition for a society in crisis to start to resolve its crisis successfully, especially if everybody is aware that a significant part of the crisis has come from the constitutional and general normative provisions, or because they were wrong and should have therefore been changed a long time ago, or were simply obsolete and needed to be changed," Milosevic pointed out.

"Under our present conditions it is very obvious that the present Constitution has to a great extent hindered the state and enterprises, that it has caused a great gap between the state and enterprises, as well as the great inefficiency of both the state and enterprises. This is why this Constitution should be altered for the benefit of both the state and enterprises, for the benefit of big and small institutions, for the benefit of both the people and individuals. Motivated and mobilized in this way, as it is at present, Serbia can do much for itself and Yugoslavia. In addition, we sincerely hope that in our feelings and our activities concerning Yugoslavia we will be together with all our peoples and all our republic, because Yugoslavia indeed depends on all of us, on all of us that are together and live in harmony.

"This is how I understand the duties which I am taking upon myself today. I thank you for electing me and I hope that I share the views of all citizens of Serbia when I say that I honestly hope for better days," Slobodan Milosevic said at the end.

The members of the Presidency and guests greeted the new president's speech with a strong round of applause.

Milosevic's Economic Reform Policy Outlined

AU1005141189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1050 GMT 10 May 89

["Daily feature" by Branka Stanisic: "Yugoslavia: Economic Reform—Serbian President Milosevic's Priority"]

[Text] Belgrade, May 10 (TANJUG)—Having regained the territorial and political unity after 15 years, Yugoslavia's largest republic Serbia now focuses on the announced social reforms.

Republic of Serbia President Slobodan Milosevic gave priority to economic integration in his inauguration speech. The leader of the "antibureaucratic revolution" said that he counted on another "mobilization and homogenization" of the people in the process of economic integration.

Serbian economists rallied in the "Milosevic Commission" which created a new concept of economic recovery last May. Their economic development strategy proposal, based on commodity production, market, free competition and opening to the world, is set out in 14 points only.

The tactics of implementing a global policy coincided in some key solutions with the orientation of Premier Ante Markovic's new government. Instead of the restrictive anti-inflation policy, Milosevic and Markovic give precedence to the increase in production, the stimulation of investments through enterprise, the introduction of new programs and technologies, personal and foreign investments and the stepped-up development of small-scale economy.

"Milosevic's Commission" was, however, more radical than the federal commission in some theoretical theses. It definitely abandons the "economy of accord-reaching" and declares an unsparing war on the bureaucratization of society. It was the first to dare call for the abolition of the Law on Associated Labor (as the main "culprit" for the break up of a unified economic market in the country and the emergence of autarchic republican economies). It also proposed a new law on enterprises, which would place the economy on sound foundations.

Serbian economists are committed to an integral market, that is, the market of goods, labor, capital and know-how. They urge mixed economy and securities' market. Enterprises are offered full independence.

The program of economic reform in Serbia takes away from the state the role of the regulator of economic developments, but strengthens its authority to control. The banks are also given complete independence. Agriculture is treated as an integral part of a market-oriented economy.

Serbia's radicalism in the economic domain is not in the least accidental. Serbia considered introducing elementary economic laws way back in the early seventies. Today, after the whole country dearly paid for the mistakes of the economy of accord-reaching, particularly Serbia because it found itself below the average development level in Yugoslavia, it is no wonder that in practice this republic was quicker than the others.

Realising that it will stay a permanent loser if it continued exporting raw materials, electricity and food which are under the regime of controlled prices to the whole country, Serbia decided to restructure and modernize economy and promote enterprise. Refusing to continue the policy which runs counter to sound economic interests, it began systematic changes without waiting for the new constitution or the accompanying laws of the federal reform.

In addition to adopting a program on the development of agriculture, Serbia has already passed reform laws on technological surplus, social and housing policies and a 10 percent cut in administration. A law on banking is to be passed by the end of the month.

By abolishing para-state self-managing interest communities and introducing other measures, Serbia plans to unburden the economy leaving at its diposal 60 percent of its income instead of the present 40 percent.

Serbia last year invested considerably in the development of science, agriculture and export promotion. It reduced interest rates on development credits by 22 percent and unburdened the economy of a number of dues. All this has resulted in the improvement of internal and external solvency, the halt of the decline of the production, while the drop of the real value of earnings remained at around (?11) percent.

Although industrial production last year increased only in Serbia by 1.4 percent, while it dropped 1.1 percent in the rest of the country, Serbia has yet to start tackling the real problems—record losses of 1,200 billion dinars, the huge inflation and the 300,000 unemployed.

Compelled to integrate its own economy, Serbia continues championing the thesis that no republic can independently succeed in the overall reform. That is why it continues to champion (?a united) Yugoslav market and the strengthening of the federation role, particularly in the monetary, fiscal and taxation policies, as well as the external economic policy.

With his program of economic reforms, Milosevic has proved himself an opponent of "administrative socialism". His proposals for a new economic strategy identify Milosevic as a staunch defendent of the Yugoslav unity.

Milosevic's thesis on socialism as a rich society is in its essence not contrary to Yugoslav Premier Markovic's "new type of socialism" and if material affluence is seen

as the first condition for the liberation of man, the thesis is also compatible with the "socialism (?fitting) man," urged by Slovenian Party President Milan Kucan.

This strengthens the hope that the Yugoslav republics will succeed in getting closer together in efforts to build a modern integral society.

Defense Secretary Kadijevic on Security Pay

LD1205095189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1838 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 11 May (TANJUG)—On the occasion of 13 May—Security Day—Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, today received representatives of the SFRY Armed Forces' security organs. Congratulating them on the 45th anniversary of the foundation and work of the security organs and services, the federal secretary paid tribute to them for their expert and self-sacrificing work based fully on the Constitution and law.

Gen Kadijevic stressed in particular that the security organs honorably carried out their duties in protecting the Armed Forces and thus created conditions for their successful and complete realization of tasks securing the constitutional system and the country's sovereignty and integrity in these complex times. Drawing attention to the basic guidelines for the realization of the social reform in the country and the results achieved in the sphere of the protection of the Armed Forces, the federal secretary stressed that the security organs would continue to make big efforts and, in keeping the Tito's messages of permanent value and fundamental social orientations, carry out their duties and thus contribute to efforts to preserve and further develop the national, revolutionary, and all-Yugoslav character of our country's Armed Forces.

All the subjects in the moral-political, security, and combat development of our Army will, through their successful implementation of the security and self-protection tasks at all levels of military organizing, contribute to efforts to create even more favorable conditions for the security organs and the Armed Forces to realize, as until now, their part of the task and duties in this sphere, said Col Gen Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense.

On behalf of the members of the security organs of the Armed Forces, Lieutenant Colonel General Ilija Ceranic expressed his thanks for the greetings messages received.

Official Eases Kosovo Extraordinary Measures

LD1105174589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1535 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Pristina, 11 May (TANJUG)—Today the Kosovo provincial secretary for internal affairs ordered that the ban on gathering at public places and on movement in groups of three or more people be lifted. Therefore, sports, cultural, and other public gatherings and shows can be held in Kosovo.

The order was made on the basis of a decision by the Kosovo Socialist Autonomous Province Assembly Executive Council. A statement from the Executive Council stresses that measures regarding the curfew—that is, a ban on movement from 2230 to 0500 the next day—are still in effect. The restriction of movement or approach to public places by individuals or groups who want to hold demonstrations and protests, as well as the possible arrival in the province of individuals and groups who want to protest, is also in effect.

Position of Serbian Minorities Abroad Examined

AU1105202689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6-7 May 89 p 4

[Dragana Sverko commentary: "Smaller and Smaller Minorities"]

[Text] Until recently, the position of the Serbian national minorities in neighboring countries was rarely discussed. Pushed onto the periphery of interests like an abandoned stepchild, the minorities were generally put onto the agenda when it came to the usual interstate visits and the standard statements that this issue is of a lasting nature, that the promotion of our peoples in neighboring countries is a "sensitive process" and demands "constant and coordinated action".... Only in the last year or two has this issue begun to depart from the usual framework according to which "our minority" generally implied the Slovene people in Carinthia or the Macedonians in Bulgaria and Greece.

In the main, this is a result of the attitude of our people in Serbia toward Yugoslav foreign policy—explains Dr Momir Stojkovic, president of the Commission of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia for International Relations. Foreign policy is under the jurisdiction of the federation, so it has been expected that care will be taken at this level about the interests of everyone in Yugoslavia. Practice has shown that in its foreign policy Yugoslavia has not paid sufficient attention to make the policy a synthesis of all these interests, claims our interlocutor.

Although our country has often stressed that the national minorities are "bridges of friendship"—which they should be—a deeper insight into this previously suppressed topic shows that these bridges are unstable.

The Serbian national minority is mainly spread around Hungary, Romania, and Albania.

Broken Channels of Cooperation

Hungary's Constitution guarantees equality, the use of their mother tongue, and the preservation and nurturing of their own culture to all minorities. The principled orientation of Hungary toward a policy of national equality and its endeavors in practice to consistently solve the problems of the national minorities are, however, recent and a consequence of certain democratic

processes in the development of Hungarian society. The Hungarians are devoting more and more attention to the nationalities issue and the Politburo of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party has even formulated this issue in a special resolution. Representatives of the nationalities are elected in local parliamentary elections. Members of our minorities are members of parliament and the general secretary of the Democratic Alliance of South Slavs, the organization of members of our nationalities, is chosen in the Presidium.

However, the area of schooling which is of vital importance for the preservation of national and cultural identity is definitely the weakest point of the minority policy regarding the South Slavs in Hungary. As was pointed out at the congress of the Democratic Alliance at the end of last year, instruction in the Serbo-Croatian language has been scrapped in some kindergartens while schools with full instruction in the mother tongue attract a very small number of pupils. Even though there are more and more clubs for South Slavs, even though newspapers are published in Serbo-Croatian and programs are transmitted on the radio and television, our people "across the border" say that this is not enough (for example they have only 1.6 minutes [figure as published] of television programs in Serbo-Croatian a day). It should not be forgotten that the areas in which the minorities live are the least developed and the social structure in these places changes slowly so that education and opportunities are sought in more developed communities where the members of the minorities are assimilated more quickly.

In Romania where the elementary rights of our minority are crudely violated, things are considerably more serious and complex. Our cooperation with the Serbian national minority in Romania developed until 5 years ago on the basis of the provisions of the Program for Cultural-Educational Cooperation. However, during talks on this program for 1984 to 1986, the Romanian side either rejected or modified the offered forms of cooperation and then shut the door on most of the actions involving the minority and even on those activities which had been carried through in earlier years despite problems. The Serbs are old settlers, as they came here as early as the 6th century. After the First World War, the question of the position of the minority in Romania was regulated within the framework of the Society of Peoples through a special agreement with this country.

The Romanian Constitution proclaims the right of every nation to freely use their language, to have all types of instruction, to print books and newspapers, and have a theater in their mother tongue. However, the principled Romanian orientation should be viewed in the light of the general stand for the construction and strengthening of the Romanian socialist nation in which the members of the minorities are treated as special linguistic groups. The phrase "Romanians of Hungarian, German, and other origin" which has been in use since 1984 and the decision on the compulsory use of Romanian names of towns and villages in which Hungarian, German, and Serbian minorities live (which has also applied to Serbian settlements since 1987) should serve as an even firmer bond between the minorities and the Romanian nation.

Schooling in one's mother tongue in Romania usually ends in the 4-year schools. Lessons in Serbo-Croatian, including in pre-school institutions, were attended by 1,600 children in 1985, for example, but in 1988 this number had fallen to 702. It is estimated that only 30 percent of Serbian children have lessons in their mother tongue.

Problematic "Noninterference"

The difference between the natural processes of assimilation and administrative measures is difficult to discern in some cases. The classic example is the planned distribution of cadres at the end of schooling, in the framework of which members of the minorities are sent to centers which do not contain these minorities and the "holes" in the ranks of our people are filled by Romanian families. Another example is when new schools in Serbo-Croatian are not opened, despite the greater concentration of South Slavs. For example, in Temisvar not one new Serbo-Croatian school has been opened, even though 6,000 of our people have settled there in recent years.

The position of the Serbian minority in Albania is wrapped in a thick veil of unknown elements. There are no precise data and as is well-known, Albania denies that this minority exists. According to one document of the Serbian Orthodox Church on the Yugoslav Orthodox congregation in Albania, after the creation of Albania in 1921 more than 1,400 Yugoslav families of the Orthodox faith remained inside its borders and settled in 28 villages which are situated mainly to the northwest of Lake Ohrid in the direction of Debar and to the southwest of the Prespan Lake. This document also contains figures on the number of Serbian families, the language, Serbian traditions, and churches. Identical and very detailed figures on the villages inhabited by a Yugoslav population were also given in a supplement to a report which the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia sent to the Patriarchate of the Serbian Orthodox Church in December 1936. Documents in the interwar period bear witness to attacks by various Albanian tribes on the Serbian population, particularly in the area of Shkoder, with overt or covert support from the authorities.

After 1948 our minorities were collectively accused of "Titoism" and all their rights were taken away. The process of de-nationalizing everyone and even members of the Serbian minority which began at that time in line with the overall aim of creating an ethnically pure Albania is still continuing. As is well-known, Albania has recently taken additional measures in order to further inhibit the already limited rights of Macedonians who are the only ones to have their status as a minority

recognized. Because of the well-known stand of the Albanian side, there are at the moment no objective possibilities for establishing cooperation with members of our minorities.

The fact is that our country, as happens rarely in the rest of the world, respects the national minorities on its territory and their rights and freedoms. Considerably more is done in this field than is envisaged by international conventions. Not only can one not talk at all about reciprocity in our neighboring countries' conduct toward our national minorities, but not even the basic rights are guaranteed in some cases. Therefore, it is not surprising that at some meetings in Belgrade at which the position of the Serbian national minority was discussed, the quite passive attitude of our foreign service was stressed in this respect. The question can be asked, whether the policy of noninterference in the affairs of another country implies noninterference in the position of our national minorities, for whom not much has been done so far. Even though this is partly the result of a lack of funds and uncoordinated activity by certain republican organs, the assessment is that we should not avoid asking the host countries of the Serbian minorities awkward questions because, if our minorities live under pressure and if they are threatened with the danger of extinction, they would find it difficult to act as "bridges of friendship."

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Imprecise Data

The figures on the number of Serbs who have settled in neighboring countries are incomplete and imprecise. According to the latest consensus in 1980, 4,000 Serbs live in Hungary (along with 4,000 Slovenes and 36,000 Croats). It is estimated, however, that there are about 5,000 of them. A large number of the Serbs who settled in Hungary in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries have been assimilated. This is confirmed by the 1920 statistics, according to which there were 81,818 South Slavs, of which 17,132 were Serbs. As early as 1930, their number was reduced to 61,678 and 7,031 respectively. Nowadays, around 90 Serbs live in Szentendre, the center of Serbian culture. In 1972, the Hungarian Culture Ministry published a book in Serbo-Croatian about our minorities, according to which there were 34,000 citizens in this country at the beginning of the seventies who spoke South Slavic languages. According to the same source, it is estimated that there were 100,000 South Slavs.

According to the official consensus of 1979, 34,037 Serbs live in Romania (7,167 Croats and 707 Slovenes). The Serbian population settled in the border areas in the county of Timis, with the highest concentration in Temisoara and Srpski Senmarton [Serbo-Croatian name as published]. According to the pre-war consensuses, around 75,000 Serbs and Croats lived in Romania (it is calculated that there were around 15,000 Croats).

It is estimated that around 100,000 Yugoslavs live in Albania, including 20,000 Serbs.

Ljubljana SAWP Discusses 8 May Meeting

LD1105163189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1311 GMT 11 May 89

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 11 May (TANJUG)—It is irresponsible and amounts to a lie to say that the Ljubljana Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] City Conference banned the 8 May meeting in Ljubljana which was held in support of "the four" sentenced by the military court. This was said today at a session of the Presidium of Ljubljana SAWP City conference, which met to consider its activity in relation to the above meeting.

Joze Osterman stressed that, at the request of the Ljubljana City Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the SAWP City Conference gave its negative view of the intention to hold the meeting (and this is in accordance with the law on public gatherings and manifestations) but without going into details of how this view would be interpreted. Osterman said that the Socialist Alliance was not given an opportunity to carry out its duty of coordinating the organization of the meeting because the organizers showed no willingness whatsoever to talk about it (the official organizer of the meeting was the University Conference of Federation of the Socialist Youth of Slovenia and the "University Conference of Federation of the Socialist Youth of Slovenia and the "unofficial" the so-called "Bavcar's Committee" for the protection of human rights).

Joze Osterman said that from the word go the issue of the public meeting was obviously politicized to the very extreme with the aim of causing a rift between the official policy and alternative organizations. He rejected attacks on the Ljubljana SAWP City Conference, which is alleged to have equated the Ljubljana meeting with the meetings in the rest of Yugoslavia. At the same time, he stressed that the situation in Ljubljana in recent months was such, (a whole series of protest meetings have been announced), that it called for a restrictive view of this form of democracy. [passage omitted]

Ljubljana University Students Stage Protest

Students Protest Jansa Arrest

LD1105150989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1321 GMT 11 May 89

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 11 May (TANJUG)—Today students at Ljubljana University, as announced, symbolically 'occupied' the philosophy building and started a 2-day boycott of lectures as a protest over the arrest of Janez Jansa and the unfavorable material status of education.

About 200-300 students protested loudly over Jansa's arrest, and in particular over the 'cynical Slovene policy regrding the trial of the four.' They demand a revision of the trial. Students are also dissatisfied with the ways the university is financed, the range of university courses offered, and the miserable socio-economic status of students. They said that the new law on military service 'discriminates against students' and many other things regarding education. The students demand a politically, financially, and professionally autonomous university, and proposed setting up an independent student organization. [passage omitted]

Maribor Gathering To Last 1 Hour

AU1205115689 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1300 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Students of almost all the Ljubljana University colleges are boycotting lectures and examinations today. The boycott has been instigated by a student parliament at the Faculty of Philosophy as an expression of disagreement with the Slovene politicians' behavior in the process against the four [Jansa, Tasic, Zavrl, and Borstner] and the arrest of Janez Jansa.

With their boycott, the students should also draw attention to the difficult position at the Slovene University and higher education.

A public cultural event will take place in Tomsic Square in Celje this evening, in support of the Slovene Spring. It will be held at the initiative of the Youth Communal Conference and the regional committees of the Slovene Democratic Alliance and the Social Democratic Alliance, the Ivan Cankar Cultural Club, and the Environment Protection Society.

In Freedom Square in Maribor, an extraordinary public session of the Presidiums of the City and University Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation and of the leaderships of the local alternative movements is underway now. This session, too, was arranged in support of the four convicted at the Ljubljana military trial.

Reporter Joze Fostneric is now on the line, calling from Maribor:

The joint public sessions of the Maribor City and University Conferences and the Democrats, the Social Democrats, and the representatives of the Christian Socialist movement, is attended by some 1,000 people—one must not say that they are gathered there. A number of speakers was announced for the joint session today, chaired by Marta Pehan, president of the Maribor Youth organization. The speakers included Alojz Krizman, rector of Maribor University, who with his picturesque examples about freedom in textbooks and daily life gained fresh sympathies among young people.

All the speakers are united in protesting against the Ljubljana trial and its consequences.

The Marbor youths, who were joined by the students, addressed a statement to the Maribor Internal Affairs Secretariat and the Presidium of the City Conference of the Socialist Alliance that banned the gathering that had been announced.

Because the organizers think that we talk too much in our society and do little, even for democracy, they decided that the Maribor public session will last 1 hour only.

Celje Gathering Held To Support Slovene Spring

AU1205115889 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1700 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] The trial of the four [Jansa, Tasic, Zavrl, and Borstner] and the arrest of Janez Jansa have led today to the protest by Ljubljana University students and the protest meeting in Maribor, which was also attended mostly by students and schoolchildren.

We reported on the events at Ljubljana University and on the meeting in Maribor in earlier newscasts. Therefore we switch over to Celje where a cultural gathering was held this afternoon in support of the Slovene Spring. Our reporter Miran Korosec was present in Tomsic Square in Celje:

Any further delay in a legally valid and politically wise solution of the disputes over the trial of the four dangerously aggravates the divisions among the Slovenes, the people in our republic, and the people in Yugoslavia. We therefore demand of all the respective organs that they should—quickly, professionally, and taking into account the general feeling in the public—do their best to obtain a reprieve for the four, and secure a retrial and changes in criminal legislation.

This, among other things, was written down in a joint statement adopted by the participants in the Celje gathering this afternoon. The statement was read by Slavko Pezdir, president of the Communal Conference of the Socialist Alliance, on behalf of the organizers, the Socialist Alliance, the Youth Federation, the newly founded alliances, cultural workers, and ecologists. As he said, the further blossoming of the Slovene Spring, which we understand as a metaphor for the affirmation of democracy, political pluralism, a law-governed state, and equality of individuals, groups, peoples, and nationalities in Yugoslavia.

The participants in their statement resolutely rejected any comparison between the Celje and other gatherings in Slovenia and the meetings of the so-called antibureaucratic revolution in some other parts of Yugoslavia. As they stressed, with their gathering they wish to support all those endeavors of elected organs of authority that consistently implement the demands for a democratic society ruled by law, and they wish to exert resolute pressure on those who hamper democracy, sovereignty, and the rights and freedoms in our country.

Maribor Residents Protest Economy, Trial
LD1105211489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1608 GMT 11 May 89

[Summary] Maribor, 11 May (TANJUG)—About 1,000 residents of Maribor, mainly students and schoolchildren, attended the public session of the presidia of the city and university conferences of the Maribor Socialist Alliance of Working People to protest against the ever worsening financial situation of students and the trial of the four in the Ljubljana military court.

Slovene Writers Appeal Against Repression
AU1105132389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29, 30 Apr, 1, 2 May 89 p 20

["Open Letter to the Yugoslav Public" by the Slovene PEN Center: "Repression as Fate"]

[Text] We, the members of the Slovene PEN [Poets, Essayists, and Novelists] Center, gathered at a meeting on 18 April 1989, noted that we live in a time when two contradictory currents are colliding in Yugoslav society. On the one side, a process of pronounced democracy is developing, making possible increasing freedom of expression and creation; and yet, on the other side, there is increasing repression of writers, journalists, university professors, and others who publicly express their views. This repression has assumed frightening proportions in some parts of the country. At our general meeting, we discussed individual cases and the fates of people who have been subjected to various forms of persecution.

1. Persecution in the classic shape of Stalinist purges has begun against 215 Albanian intellectuals from Kosovo, who signed an Appeal to the Assembly of Serbia and to the Yugoslav Public in defense of the 1974 Constitution in a completely legitimate manner. At "comradely" meetings, criticism is voiced, demands are made for self-criticism, and accusations, threats of dismissals from jobs and even of prison are uttered.

Calls for denunciations and demands for repentance are heard, and the like. These are the methods of political squaring of accounts with intellectuals, which we thought were a matter of the past. It seems to us impermissible that leaderships of political organizations interfere in matters of the Kosovo Writers Society to such an extent that, among other things, they call for the resignation of Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Kosovo Writers Society. According to our information, Redzep Ismaili, member of the Kosovo Writers Society has been confined, so to speak. The question of writer Adem Demaci who is gravely ill and is serving a long prison sentence has not been resolved yet. Demaci has been imprisoned for 28 years and is the longest serving political prisoner in Europe. The International PEN took up his case on several occasions.

2. Ayatollah Khomeyni, Iranian religious and state leader, has filed criminal charges with the District Public Prosecutor in Belgrade against writer Slobodan Selenic and two journalists of BORBA, because they opposed the public call to murder writer Salman Rushdie; the explanation is that they insulted the Iranian leader. We cannot imagine any other outcome of this affair but a rejection of Khomeyni's charge. If indeed we have a law in Yugoslavia according to which somebody who publicly incites and calls to murder may prosecute some other person, we believe that such a law must be repealed at the shortest possible procedure.

3. The Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Serbia has taken away the passport of writer Milan Mladenovic, the explanation being that in his speech at the assembly of the Serbian Writers Association, Mladenovic critically referred to the political work of Josip Broz Tito. This is a case of violating the elementary civil rights of the person concerned, and it is also a matter of intimidating all those who wish to make public statements.

4. The District Public Prosecution in Titograd has initiated proceedings against four Montenegrin writers, Jevrem Brkovic, Mladen Lompar, Milorad Popovic, and Sreten Zekovic. It is suspected that their guilt arises from public statements that were published in Ljubljana MLADINA. Instead of cultural, scientific, and political polemics with their theses, they have been faced with prosecution and the threat of grave criminal sanctions.

5. In Zagreb, proceedings have been started against Dr Franjo Tudjman and Dr Marko Veselica, because they violated an order banning their public utterances after their release from prison. In this connection we draw public attention to the fact that Article 67 of the SFRY Criminal Code allows such a ban. It appears to us simply abominable that our laws may sentence somebody to enforced silence.

6. Slovene PEN is disgusted at some moves in the campaign against Dr Nenad Kecmanovic, Sarajevo University Rector. It has been shown that the relations of a Yugoslav citizen with foreigners are under constant surveillance, and that security organs expect to be informed about them. As members of an international organization whose aim is to draw foreign and domestic citizens together and not to separate them, we are worried at the pronounced xenophobia made evident in this case, and we are indignant at the implied supposition that we should act as amateur spies. If the reports on the subjects discussed by Kecmanovic and foreigners are correct, we must say that such offenses have been committed virtually by everybody who has recently talked with any foreigner. Does this mean that every such contact may be assessed as an offense against the law at any given moment? Does this mean that all the activities of PEN are suspicious, only provisionally tolerated, and subject to be considered a crime at any moment?

7. At the 52d International PEN Congress in Seoul, the Slovene PEN, with the support of the Croatian and Serbian centers, proposed a resolution on the trial of the four—Janez Jansa, David Tasic, Franc Zavrl, and Ivan Borstner—and a request that the illegitimate trial be annulled. The Yugoslav authorities were acquainted with this resolution, supported by all the centers of the writers' world organization, in September last year, and Francis King, president of International PEN, and secretary Aleksander Blok [name as transliterated] also made representations with the SFRY Presidency and the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. The conviction was nevertheless confirmed and the convicted persons may have to go to prison soon. It is now finally clear that the very Army order which the convicted journalists and the former noncommissioned officer allegedly betrayed was unconstitutional. This was confirmed by all the three chambers of the Slovene Assembly. It therefore seems to us self-explanatory and necessary that there should be a retrial, which should be public and conducted in Slovene, and civilian defense counsel should attend it.

We, the members of the Slovene PEN Center, appeal to the Slovene public, writers, journalists, and other people who write, and especially to all PEN Centers in Yugoslavia, to join us in a condemnation of the aspects of repression described above. We appeal to them to support with their prestige absolute justice as regards the freedom of thought and expression, a free expression of different opinions, and freedom of scientific activities and artistic creation.

[Signed] Drago Jancar, president, Slovene PEN Center.

Slovene Christian Social Movement Founded

AU1105183689 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1600 GMT 11 May 89

[Friedrich Orter dispatch from Ljubljana]

[Text] In Ljubljana several hundred Slovenes are currently holding the founding session of the Ljubljana section of the Slovene Christian Social Movement. Among the variety of new parties that have been founded this year as an alternative to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, this is another attempt to break the Communists' monopoly on power.

However, like the Democratic Alliance and the Social Democrats, this new political movement, too, can work only within the Socialist Alliance. In his program, founding member Peter Kovacic does not so much focus on new economic concepts. He wants, above all, to introduce Christian ethical viewpoints in politics, because Yugoslav society, he says, does not only suffer from a political but mainly from a moral crisis.

All through postwar history, Christians have been excluded from politics. This blockade is now to be broken, because, as Kovacic says, Christians should be able to participate in politics as citizens with equal rights.

Slovenia's Catholic Church is observing this development from a distance and with restraint. It does not want to be suspected of controlling political activities, and it wants to prevent the danger of being subjected to new reprisals.

Commentary Scrutinizes Orlandic Appointment

AU1105130189 Titograd POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 3 May 89 p 2

[Vidoje Konatar commentary: "Ambassadorial Game"]

[Text] The extraordinary congress of the League of Communists [LC] of Montenegro has removed, among other things, another veil from the mysterious heaven of the "untouchable"—it has uncovered a bureaucratic game concerning the appointment of Marko Orlandic for an ambassador in which, as heard during the discussion, none other than Stipe Suvar, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], played one of the lead roles.

What came to light were extremely strange circumstances and manipulations in which former members of the Montenegrin Presidency and the republican government, which conducted more of a cadre than economic policy, "fought" for the lead role!

All this, as congress concluded, will soon be a subject of the Montenegrin Assembly delegates' discussion, which should explain all relevant circumstances and reveal the actors that took part in these circumstances so that the question of accountability can finally be put on the agenda. However, at present there are many unclear things: This act has inflicted a great political damage by showing disrespect for the clearly expressed will of the Montenegro people concerning this former top official. It was forgotten, however, why the people have asked him, almost forced him to submit an irrevocable resignation. It was also forgotten that it was in fact this nation that 2 decades ago expressed full confidence in Comrade Orlandic and that since then this republic has felt much economic and political turmoil, ranging from excessive indebtedness abroad and poor investments, to the failure in implementing the agreed policies of the Montenegrin LC and the republican political and state organs which he was the head of.

If this entire period is regarded as a period of sluggishness, vacillation, indecisiveness, bureaucratic ossification, which jointly contributed to a situation in which every fifth citizen of this republic "enjoys" social security and the economy is facing a total collapse, then

Comrade Orlandic is also partly responsible. His contribution to the greatest investment fiasco—the cadre policy—cannot be bypassed either, even if we wanted to.

True, in all this one must not bypass his merits, which certainly exist. However, at the same time one must also bear in mind his role concerning the introduction of "emergency" and then "urgent" measures in October of last year, the fabrication of "militant groups," and fierce opposition to the young team after the January events. After all, at the 20th session of the LCY he himself said: "The people's protest is an expression of one policy, and this must be acknowledged." It is true that Stipe Suvar had immediately acknowledged this in a reply that followed. His words sounded as if he was decorating Orlandic with an order. Comrade Suvar forgot that—if it was the period in which this protest was growing and maturing under the pressure of increasing problems and troubles that was on trial—Marko Orlandic should have, among others, assumed at least the role of the crown witness if not of the accused.

Is it justified to award this former official with an ambassadorial post after everything that had been expressed by the people? Is this perhaps not an attempt by Comrade Stipe Suvar, by behaving in an unconstitutional and undemocratic way, to "push" Orlandic for an ambassador through secret channels and at the same time express his personal thanks for the "discipline" and Orlandic's standing up for him at the 18th LCY Central Committee Plenum at which, during the show, Suvar said his famous words in front of the cameras: "Thanks Marko. You spoke well, really well."

In this bureaucratic game many more important things than the "Orlandic case" were revealed. What came to the surface was the extent of many officials' deep involvement in private undertakings and privileges, and the ways of achieving desired things through "short cuts." Therefore, if nothing else, the Montenegrin LC has greatly contributed toward breaking various taboos and years-old fear of ordinary people from merely mentioning let alone discussing the secret and extremely undemocratic work and discussions in the top circles. In all this, this ambassadorial appointment is only an episode which has in one of the bureaucratic fields (the cadre field) demonstrated to everybody the extent of possible resistance and difficulties in extending democracy.

Not everything heard from the congress rostrum can be regarded as revanchism, revenge against Comrade Orlandic, but as an attempt to clear the way for democratic, open activities, respect for normal ways of reaching any place in the officials' hierarchy. Judging by everything, Comrade Suvar has forgotten this and, instead of, as he himself said, fighting for these ways, he went the opposite way, the way that is not compatible with the Party Statue. In this way, he, as well as others, has not only abused his personal position, but he has also abused the position of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on whose behalf this game was initiated.

Sarajevo Court Lifts Ban on Student Newspaper

LD1105174889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1643 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Sarajevo, May 11 (TANJUG)—The supreme court of Bosnia- Hercevovina has repealed an appeal by the republican prosecutor's office and thus lifted a ban on the distribution of the latest issue of the youth newspaper NASI DANI.

The ban was imposed on the strength of a clause on the protection of the public from disturbance after the newspaper published several caricatures and articles accusing Bosnia-Hercegovina leaders of engineering the Kecmanovic political affair.

President of Sarajevo University Dr Nenad Kecmanovic was forced earlier this month to abandon the election race for the republican representative in the collective state presidency after doubts expressed by state security organs about his loyalty to Yugoslavia.

The supreme court ruled that the controversial issue contains nothing that could harm the authority of individuals and institutions of the political leadership of the republic.

The critically oriented public and especially the youth press have interpreted the Kecmanovic affair as an attempt to eliminate a new, uncompromised person who is highly critical of the hitherto political practice in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Failure To Elect Presidency Candidate Viewed

LD1105175189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1600 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Skopje, May 11 (TANJUG)—The procedure for the election of a Macedonian representative for the Yugoslav State Presidency was democratic and along the lines of the Constitution and the law, but it did contain several faults and weaknesses which resulted in the republican parliament failing to elect a Macedonian representative for the collective State Presidency on April 14, the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia assessed.

Since they did not get the necessary number of votes in the first round of voting in the republican parliament, candidates Jakov Lazaroski and Gligorije Gogovski asked for a repetition of the procedure and that they be allowed to withdraw their nominations, on which the parliament agreed.

Lazaroski and Gogovski belong to the younger generation of Macedonian politicians. Lazaroski is the president of the Macedonian Communists, and Gogovski is the republican premier. They both urge social changes and are champions of radical changes in the economy.

The Macedonian Party Presidency assessed that a part of the public media during the election procedure carried reports containing misinformation and were aimed at discrediting some of the candidates, that the regulations and criteria, as underscored, were not precise, and that the public was incompletely informed about certain phases of the elections.

Finally, the Macedonian party Presidency emphasized that all these weaknesses must not appear in the repeated election procedure.

Since Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina still have not elected their representatives for the new State Presidency, which is to take office on May 15, the presidents of their republican presidencies will represent them there temporarily.

Exports Fall, Imports Rise in First Quarter
AU0905194089 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1821 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 9 May (TANJUG)—In the first quarter of this year, Yugoslavia had a trade deficit of 290 million dollars—with exports totalling three billion 886 million dollars, and imports four billion 176 million.

Over the same period last year, the country recorded a 118 million-dollar surplus in foreign trade.

Exports to the convertible-currency countries amounted to two billion 986 million dollars, and to the clearing-payment area to 900 million dollars.

A 1.6-percent drop in exports to the clearing-payment area compared to the same period last year slowed down the growth of surplus in Yugoslavia's trade with these countries currently amounting to over 1.5 billion dollars.

Although Yugoslavia is interested in buying more from the clearing-payment area (especially raw materials and crude oil) as a means of decreasing the unnecessary surplus, imports totalled 789 million dollars, or 17.6 percent less than in the same period last year.

Imports from the convertible-currency countries totalled three billion 387 million dollars—a 21.4 percent increase on the January-April period last year.

The Republic of Serbia tops the exporters' list with one billion 132 million dollars. It is followed by Slovenia with one billion 91 million dollars, Croatia with 808 million, Bosnia-Hercegovina with 591 million, Macedonia with 184 million, Montenegro with 78 million, and the provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo with 283 and 71 million dollars respectively.

Construction Firms Attract Foreign Contracts
AU1005105289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0914 GMT 10 May 89

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, May 10 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav construction department will carry out most of its works on construction sites in Iraq and Algeria and the Soviet Union this year.

The building of the hydroelectric power plant Bekhme is the most important construction project among the around 600 million dollars worth of contracted works that are to be carried out in Iraq. The project and construction services in Algeria are expected to generate some 300 million dollars, while the Yugoslav construction department will earn over 250 million dollars from projects in the Soviet Union.

Around 25,000 Yugoslav construction workers and experts plan to realize foreign currency earnings of around 1.5 billion dollars this year. This is around 10 pecent up on the value of realized projects abroad last year.

By the end of the year, as envisaged, Yugoslav construction firms will contract 2.2 billion dollars worth of projects abroad.

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